

Alcina's Report on the Administration of the Sacraments (Unction of the Sick and Marriage) and the Works of Mercy in 17th Century Samar and Leyte.

CAPITULO 20

REMATA LO QUE TOCA A LOS OTROS SACRAMENTOS, Y DE LAS OBVENCIONES QUE DE ELLOS TIENEN LOS MINISTROS, Y SUS OFICIALES QUE LES AYUDAN A ELLOS

No hemos tratado aquí del Santísimo Sacramento cuando se da por Viático que, por no llevarse acá, como dijimos ya, por la poca decencia de sus casas, a las de los enfermos, no tenemos cosa especial, pues, trayéndolos a ellos a la iglesia, en ella se les administra, comúnmente en tiempo de misa.

Porque no en todas se reserva el Santísimo Sacramento (aunque en las cabeceras y otros pueblos, donde se puede con seguridad y comodidad, se les da en otras horas, cuando la necesidad lo pide) ; y lo mismo se hace en la administración del sacramento de la Extremaunción, que muchas veces se les da luego, inmediatamente a la Comunión, cuando el enfermo está de riesgo, por ahorrarle el que le traigan segunda vez, y no los aflijan con la agitación; y también, cuando la necesidad es tal que hay peligro probable, se les lleva a sus casas el dicho Sacramento, pues no

CHAPTER 20

THIS BRINGS TO A CLOSE WHATEVER PERTAINS TO THE OTHER SACRAMENTS AND ALSO TREATS THE INCOME THAT THE MINISTERS DERIVE FROM THEM, AND ABOUT THE OFFI- CIALS WHO ASSIST THEM IN THEIR ADMINISTRATION

We have not treated as yet the Sacrament of Holy Communion and how it is administered as Viaticum and that it is not carried, as we already mentioned, to the houses of the sick because of the lack of decency found in them. About this latter matter we have nothing to say in particular, but they are requested to bring the sick to the church where the Sacrament is administered to them ordinarily during the Mass.

The Blessed Sacrament is not reserved in all of them (although in the *cabeceras* and in other towns this can be safely and comfortably executed; it also is administered to them at other times or whenever the need arises). The same is done regarding the administration of the Sacrament of Extreme Unction which is often administered at the same time and immediately after Holy Communion; that is, whenever the sick individual is in great danger, so as to spare him the difficulty of being brought in the second time and to prevent the discomfort of the journey. When the sickness is such that it may involve a grave risk of death, the said Sacrament is administered in their homes since not as

necesita de tanta solemnidad, adorno y decencia como el Viático, aunque, en cuanto se puede, siempre es mejor, más decente, más cómodo y menos expuesto a indecencias que se les administre en las iglesias, donde está todo dispuesto o se dispone con brevedad; y el modo que acá usan de cargar los enfermos con hamacas (que es amarrando a una caña larga una tela, o paño; hayles al propósito para ello); de modo que, cargando al hombro las dos puntas, queda el enfermo tendido en la parte inferior, y, aun con un cayan, que le defiende de sol y agua, etc., es fácil y seguro y acomodado, pues les traen como si estuvieran en su misma casa, y suben y bajan con poco movimiento y mucha facilidad y comodidad, con lo cual se hace más seguro este uso; y el traer de este modo a los enfermos es tan ordinario que apenas hay día en pueblos grandes que no traigan uno, y a veces muchos, en hamacas a la iglesia, en la cual hay dispuestas ciertas horquillas, con sus pies firmes, donde las ponen, y están todo el tiempo necesario, que es cosa de no poca comodidad para ellos, y de algún alivio para los ministros.

Sólo en lo tocante a la Extremaunción tengo que añadir que se deja acá y así lo ordenan los Rituales Romano y otros, conformes con el más modernos (/sic/) la unición del ombligo en las mujeres por la poca honestidad y decencia que acompañara a esta acción en semejante parte, y más entre esta gente nueva y que se admirara de que se les descubra semejante lugar, pues aun la de los riñones en los varones, por la incomodidad de revolverse en dichas hamacas y poca ropa con que vienen cubiertos, a las veces es necesario dejarla por la misma razón; en todas ocasiones es muy necesario que vele el ministro y procure amonestarlos para que los traigan con tiempo para obviar, y aun prevenir, el hacerlo así, por la dificultad con que a las veces los traen de lejos, como por la facilidad con que algunos, sin pensar, se quedan muertos por la poca resistencia de sus complexiones, o por (y es lo más cierto esto) esperar al último trance a traerlos, y suelen llegar ya muertos; y así es necesario, o prevenir el ungirlos o disponer que no los vuelvan luego a las sementeras cuando están de peligro; que, en

much solemnity, pomp and decency are required as for the Viaticum. However, as far as possible, it is always more preferable, more proper, more conducive, and carries less risk of indecency, to administer it to them in the church where all is prepared or can be readily prepared. The practice here is to carry the sick in a hammock (which consists in tying a cloth of woven material to two long bamboo poles. Some are already made for this purpose), in such a way that the sick one is carried on the lower part and both ends rest on the shoulders of those who carry him. This hammock is even provided with a *cayan*¹ which protects the sick one from the sun, rain, etc. This procedure is easy, safe, and comfortable, because they carry him as if he were in his own house; they go up and down with little discomfort and with much facility and great ease. As a result, this practice has become common-place and they ordinarily bring the sick in this manner. Rarely does a day pass in the larger towns to which they do not bring in someone and sometimes many in these hammocks to the church where there are provided some fork-like stands with their firm bases upon which they place them (i.e. the hammocks). These remain there as long as necessary; this provision brings much relief to the bearers and some comfort to the ministers.

Whatever else pertains to the Sacrament of Extreme Unction, I must add that here the anointing of the navel of the women is omitted (it is mandatory in the Roman and other most recent Rituals) as a result of the little modesty and decency that such an action in such a place would imply. What more, our neophytes would, doubtlessly, wonder why such portion of the body had to be uncovered. It is for the same reason why we sometimes omit anointing the kidneys among the men, because of the little clothing they wear or due to the difficulty of turning them around in their hammocks. Be what it may, in every case it is necessary that the minister be watchful and insistent that they bring the sick on time so as to obviate and forestall any inconveniences and to prevent them from dying on the way due to a weakened state or deteriorating condition. Frequently, (and this is more true) they wait or delay until it is too late and hence bring them in already dead. Therefore, it is often necessary either to anoint them ahead of time or to make certain that they do not take them back to the remote areas where there is such

descuidando el ministro, los vuelven luego, y muchas veces con no poco riesgo espiritual y corporal.

El otro sacramento, que forzosamente y frecuente se administra por acá, es el del matrimonio; aunque nunca, o rara vez, con la ostentación exterior y pompa que en Europa; pues solemos acá casar a las veces cuatro y seis y más pares con tan poco ruido como si no se casaran. El uso y modo que por acá está entablado en la administración de este santo sacramento es el siguiente:

Después de amonestados tres veces públicamente en la iglesia en días de concurso, o festivos (amonestan acá los fiscales mayores, que luego diremos lo que son), se les avisa que se confiesen la tarde antes, o la mañana, antes de misa; que acá a nadie se administra este sacramento sin que haya confesado (y aun muchos comulgan también en la misa), y a la mañana vienen prevenidos los novios con sendos padrinos y cuatro candelas, que tienen encendidas en tiempo de misa.

Sale el ministro a la puerta de la iglesia con capa blanca, y lleva siempre (que todos los ministros las tenemos acá prevenidas y benditas) las arras y anillos, que se les entregan, pues, si hubieran ellos de traer arras, por su falta no se casaran; y anillos, de veinte que se casan, no los tendrán dos; y así todos los ministros tenemos arras y anillos benditos para siempre; y, tal vez, algún principal, u otro mestizo, etc., las trae, se les bendicen y entregan como se usa.

Hecho el desposorio a la puerta de la iglesia, después de la mutua recíproca voluntad que se les pide; y de las mujeres bisayas son muy raras las que dicen claramente “sí, quiero”, sino entre dientes y mal dicho; que tienen por cosa vergonzosa y poco honesta (aun en esta ocasión, que no debieran) el decir claramente “sí, quiero”; y no han sido pocas las veces que yo me he vuelto de la

great danger. Here, if the minister is not too diligent about this, they take them back at once and often with no small spiritual and physical risk.

Another Sacrament which is administered here with great frequency is the Sacrament of Marriage. Rarely is it administered here with all the external ostentation and pomp as in Europe; because here we are accustomed to administer the Sacrament at times to four or six or more couples at one time with so little ceremony that it seemed it was not a marriage at all. The practice and the custom which has been established here in the administration of this Sacrament shall now be described.

After the banns have been publicly read in the church on days of a large attendance or on feastdays (over here, the *fiscales mayores* read the banns; afterwards we shall say who they are), they are reminded to go to Confession on the previous afternoon or on the same morning before Mass. Here, no one receives the Sacrament unless he has been to Confession (over here even a great number receive Holy Communion during that Mass). On the morning of the Wedding, those to be married bring along two sets of God-parents and four candles which these will hold during the Mass.

The minister goes out to the entrance of the Church, wearing a white cope and always bringing along (because the ministers here have them ready and blessed) the arrhae² and the rings, which are to be exchanged by them. If one would depend upon them to bring the arrhae, they would not be able to get married since they are always unable to acquire them; out of the twenty who do get married, barely two will have the rings. Therefore, all the ministers have arrhae and rings already blessed for every such occasion. If per chance, some principal or mestizo, etc. does bring them, they are blessed and handed over to them for exchange as is the custom.

The marriage vows are made at the door of the church where they are asked to express their reciprocal consent. Among the Visayan women, those who clearly say "Yes, I wish" are very few; they usually say it as if through their teeth and almost inaudibly. Somehow they consider it to be improper or they feel shy about saying it out loud and clearly (on such an occasion they should not) "Yes, I do!" Not a few times have I left the

puerta de la iglesia sin concluirse el casamiento por no poderles sacar, aun por señas, señal de voluntad y consentimiento; y, a la verdad, como dije ya en otra parte, las más, aunque quieren casarse, no quisieran con aquel con quien las casan, si no con otro (la causa ya la dije, y así no repito).

Hecha la entrega mutua y dados y recibidos anillos y arras, van delante del altar, detrás del ministro, y allí se les dice la misa de las velaciones y dan las bendiciones nupciales siempre, que así se usa por acá y ha usado; que nunca se desposan (sino todo junto); y, acabadas las ceremonias según el Ritual ordena, se les hace su exhortación y avisa de la obligación del nuevo estado, etc., y se vuelven a su casa sin otro ruido, pompa o exterioridad, como si sólo vinieran a misa; y por esto, sin duda, se introdujo por acá, y usó siempre, el casarlos en todos los tiempos del año, porque en ninguno hay entre ellos demostraciones exteriores; que, como dice Fray Julio Bautista es su *Ritual* de Méjico, *est ius indicum ab origine nascentis Ecclesiae inter illos*; y la ausencia de los ministros forzosa, y la facilidad que entre sí tienen de juntarse luego que los padres de los novios se conchaban y reciben la dote, que ya les dan por casados; y la poca celebridad, o ninguna, con que se hacen estos matrimonios parece que es conforme al sentir de la santa madre Iglesia y de sus Cabezas los superiores el no tener tiempo prohibido, y también una Bula Apostólica, que así lo dice, despachada el año 1562 a 12 de agosto.

Concluyamos esta materia con los derechos u obvenciones que llevan los Padres ministros de nuestra Compañía en estas partes, en tanta administración de sacramentos como usan, y tanta variedad de ministerios. Estos son los que dicen nuestras Reglas, que en la veintiséis del *Sumario de las Constituciones* dice así. “Todas las personas que están a obediencia de la Compañía se

door of the church without having performed the marriage, for I was unable to obtain from them even by means of some signs an expression of desire and consent. And in truth, as I have mentioned elsewhere: the majority of them do wish to get married, but not to the one with whom they are matched, but to some one else (I already mentioned the reasons previously and so I do not wish to repeat it here).

Once the mutual consent was exchanged, the rings and the arrhae offered and accepted, they walk towards the altar behind the minister where they hear the Mass of the "velaciones,"³ and where they always receive the Nuptial Blessing; for such is the practice here and has been. Here they never limit themselves to the espousals only but go through the entire ritual. Once the ceremonies are completed as prescribed by the Ritual, an exhortation is made during which they are reminded about their obligations in the new state of life, etc. Then, they go back home without any other fanfare, pomp or external celebration, as if they had only attended Mass. It was for this reason that it was established here, and it had always been the practice, to perform marriages at all times of the year, since at no time among them are there any external manifestations. For as Fray Julio Bautista states in his Mexican Ritual: "...such is the law for the Indies from the beginning of the establishment of the Church among them..."; the unavoidable absence of the ministers and the ease with which they come to live together as soon as the parents of the would-be spouses come to an agreement and receive the dowry, in such a way that they consider them as if married. Also, the little or absence of solemnity with which these marriages are performed, seems to be in harmony with the mind of Holy Mother Church and of its heads, the Superiors, for not having any forbidden time for marriages and because of a Papal Bull issued on August 12, 1562, which expresses it so.

Let us bring this subject to a close by speaking about the stipends and offerings which the Fathers of the Society request in these parts for the administration of the Sacraments, which are performed so often and in such a wide pastoral activity. In this matter we follow our *Rule*, where in the twenty-sixth number we read: "...Let all individuals who are under the obedience of the Society remember that they must freely dispense what was

acuerden que deben dar gratis lo que gratis recibieron, no demandando ni recibiendo estipendio ni limosna alguna en recompensa de misas, o confesiones, o predicar o cualquiera otro oficio de los que puede ejercitar la Compañía, nuestro Instituto; porque así pueda con más libertad y más edificación de los prójimos proceder en el divino servicio.”

Hasta aquí dicha Regla (que quizás ninguna otra Religión dará otra su igual y semejante a ella), y por acá se observa con tanta puntualidad y exacción cual en cualquiera parte del mundo; y no tanto porque estos indios son pobres y desdichados, pues ellos, y otros como ellos en otros ministerios como este, pagan obvenciones bien considerables, y tienen hechos aranceles para esto; pero en este nuestro ministerio nada nos dan ni les pedimos ni, aunque lo dieran lo admitiéramos (como solemos desechar las limosnas que ellos y otros nos suelen dar para misas, etc.), porque venimos acá, no a buscar sus haciendas, no oro o plata u otros haberes temporales, sino sus almas y la retribución eterna del cielo, que es la mejor.

Treinta y tres años (y aun treinta y seis) ha que vivo en este ministerio y entre estos nuestros bisayas, y en ellos ya se ve las muchas veces que les he administrado todos los sacramentos, y fuera de ellas muchas veces de caridad y piedad cristiana y religiosa en sus almas y sus cuerpos; pues es cierto que en tantos años no me han dado, ni tomádoles, en dinero, oro, plata u otra especie que lo valga, en recompensa de tantos sacramentos (que lícitamente llevan otros ministros, y aun justamente, mientras no se exceda de la debida moderación y tasa), y otras obras de piedad, treinta y tres ochavos, ni aun tres; y lo mismo todos los ministros que por acá he conocido, que se precian de serlo cuales deben, dándoles sí los Padres a ellos muchas veces (aunque en cosas menudas y usuales y medicinales) cosas que valieran muchos ducados; pues, a la verdad, suyo es cuanto tenemos y de ellos sale; no porque nos den ni recibamos obvenciones ni limosnas, ni tenga-

freely given them; that is, not demanding nor receiving any stipend or alms as a gratuity for their Masses, Confessions, preaching nor any other work which one may perform according to the Rules of the Society, so that he may proceed with the divine service with greater freedom and edification of the faithful."

As far as this *Rule* is concerned (no other Religious Order can equal or compare with this) it is observed even here with all punctuality and exactness as anywhere else in the world. It is not so much that these natives are poor and wretched, but because there are others in some ministries who must pay considerable sums and have set stipends in this regard. But in our ministry, they give us nothing nor do we ask them for anything; or even if they would offer something to us we would not accept it (it is our practice to refuse the stipends they and others would deign to offer us for Masses, etc.) because we come here not to look for their temporal goods nor after gold and silver or any other material emoluments, but only after their souls and the everlasting reward of heaven, which is the noblest of all.

It is thirty-three years (or better yet, already thirty-six) since I began to live in this ministry and among these Bisayans, and among them it is well-known that I have administered to them all the Sacraments in such a wise. Aside from this, many times I have extended to them my ministrations out of Christian and religious charity and piety with concern for their souls and bodies. For it is certain that for all these years they have not given me nor have I accepted from them any money, gold, silver or any other item whatsoever as a recompense for the many Sacraments (which other ministers legitimately request and even justly demand as long as they do not go beyond limits of due moderation and set stipends) and works of piety, thirty-three *ochavos*⁴, or even three. The same holds true for the ministers with whom I have become familiar over here, and who take pride in being exemplary religious as they really ought to be. The Fathers certainly give them many times (although here we are not concerned with small matters, ordinary things or medicines) things which would amount to many *ducats*. For in truth, all that we have is actually theirs and comes from them; not because they give it to us or we receive it from them, stipends, alms

mos pie de altar, manípulo, misas, entierros, etc., sino porque de la parte del tributo que se nos da de estipendio por su Majestad o por los encomenderos (con la economía que dije en el Primer Libro de esta Segunda Parte) tenemos lo necesario para nuestro sustento y de los que nos sirven, y aun para darles y ayudarles a ellos con lo poco que alcanzamos según necesidad y acciones ocur-
rentes.

Esto pongo en esta Historia con esta claridad porque en otra Historia del Rosario (que se imprimió en esta Islas de otro ministerio muy santo y perfecto, no lo dudo ni lo niego) se repite muchas veces el despego con que viven muy a lo primitivo y santo; y no dudo que será así; pero, con tanto inculcar, parece que notan a los demás ministros de interesados, de poco pobres y poco apostólicos en su ministerio; y, para que se vea que hay quien hace más, pues no recibimos limosnas de misas ni entierros, como es cierto que las reciben sus religiosos, ni tenemos aranceles ni limosmas asentadas, pues las da el que quiere, y el que no quiere, no; y, si dan alguna, no es para nosotros ni se emplea en cosa alguna nuestra, sino para sus iglesias y los ornamentos de ellas; y de las pocas alhajas de oro, plata y seda que hay comúnmente en las de todos nuestros ministerios (aunque se procura siempre que no falte lo necesario, decente, limpio y curioso, aunque no sea rico), y las muchas de que abundan las suyas; de la diferencia y suntuosidad de sus iglesias a las nuestras; y de los provechos de sus ministros y sacristanes a los nuestros, se colegirá la pobreza, desinterés y espíritu apostólico de cada uno; que no hay mejor testigo que la vista, ni menos puesto en dudas que la experiencia de lo que se ve en cada ministerio.

or because we draw from the *pie de altar*⁵, *manípulo*, Masses and burials, etc., but because we are given a little portion of the tributes as a stipend, either by His Majesty or by the *encomenderos*. Thus (with the thriftiness that I mentioned in Book One of this Part Two) we have what we need for ourselves, for our sustenance and something for those who serve us and even to assist them and give them from the little that we can, according to their needs and ordinary circumstances.

I note these matters down here in this *History* with clarity, because in another one, the *History of the Rosary*⁶ (which was printed in these Islands about another ministry . . . very holy and perfect . . . I do not doubt or deny) it is repeatedly stated how their religious live in detachment; how they proceed with their apostolic labours with disinterestedness; how they live in poverty and holiness in imitation of the Primitive Church. I do not call into question any of these matters, but by a dint of so much repetitive insistence, it seems that they regard the other ministers as being attached to temporal things, and deficient in poverty and apostolicity in their evangelical labours. Just for the records, let it be known that there are others who do even more, because we do not even accept offerings for Masses and burials while other Religious do accept them. We do not have any stole fees nor any set stipends; those who wish to give something, fine and those who do not, it is just as fine. However, if they do offer something it is not for us nor will it be earmarked for some need of ours but for their churches and the furnishings therein. Aside from the few vessels of gold, silver and the silk that is found in our ministries (but we see to it that they have what is essential, appropriate, neat and well-wrought but not excessively ornate) we have very little; however, many of their churches abound in all these. The difference in the extravagance between our churches and theirs and between the income of their ministers and sacristans is comparable. We may state, in conclusion, that as regards the poverty, the disinterestedness and apostolic spirit it is not the same in both of them. There is no better way to arrive at such a conviction than to go out and see for one self. All doubts will vanish if only one can experience and see for one self what is happening in each type of ministry.

No pretendo tachar aquello, sino dar a entender que en otras partes hay más y se habla menos; que de el aumento en la fe y buenas costumbres de los feligreses todos ellos mismos hablarán, y los que lo ven, sin ser parte, la darán de lo que han visto en todas partes.

Veamos ahora los percances que tienen los ministros u oficiales de nuestros Padres, para que se vea con cuán poco interés y atención a medras temporales se acude siempre y ha acudido a este ministerio; y con esto daremos de paso noticia de los oficiales que tienen por acá los Padres ministros para ayuda de lo mucho que tienen a qué acudir y en qué entender; que quien lo ha experimentado y ha pasado y pasa aún, con ver lo que se hace, casi juzga por imposible que pueda un ministro solo, y a veces cargado de años y achaques, acudir a tantas cosas, y con repetido círculo dar un año fin a tantas cosas como vemos se ejecutan y concluyen cada año, y todos los años con la ayuda de Dios, que es el que da fuerza y vigor para ello, y, lo que más es, ánimo, tesón y espíritu para no cansarse o resfriarse en tan repetidos trabajos, tan continuos afanes, tan ordinarios peligros y tan sin correspondencias humanas, aunque la abundancia de las divinas, que es lo que esperamos siempre los ministros, y la retribución cierta que con un: *reddet justus judex* (nos asegura san Pablo) lo facilita, allana y aun endulza todo. A él se den infinitas gracias.

Son, pues, los ministros, que cada uno de los Padres misioneros tiene por acá para ayuda de su trabajo, tres, los inmediatos y que, como oficiales suyos, acuden inmediatamente a lo que los Padres ordenan en cuanto al mandar, y que son como sus pies y manos en cuanto al ejecutar.

El primero y mayor es el que llamamos *fiscal mayor*. Este es siempre uno de los principales, mayores y mejores en cuanto

It is not my aim to criticize what others are doing but only to help understand how in some places more is done and less is said. When it comes to the matter of deepening the faith and the customs in our Christian people each one speaks in favour of himself. Some who are not actually participants, see how things are being done in other places and do speak about it.

Let us speak about the hardships that the ministers and lay-assistants to the Fathers go through so that it may be seen what little concern and desire we have for temporal gain; a position to which we have always clung to when we assumed the responsibility for this ministry. Now, in doing this, we shall give in passing a report about the lay-assistants whom the Father Ministers have over here to help them in the many undertakings that they have to attend to and be occupied with. Anyone who has experienced such an undertaking and goes through it readily sees what is being accomplished and realizes how impossible it is for a single minister, sometimes full of years and infirmities, to attend to so many matters. A relentless pursuit in all these matters brings to a conclusion a tremendous accomplishment in a single year; this is carried out year after year with the help of God Who is the One who gives the strength and the vigor to achieve it. What is even more noteworthy is that He gives courage, constancy and spirit so that one does not become bored and loses one's zeal in the midst of such repeated undertakings, such continuous involvement with its ever-present dangers and almost total lack of human consolation. On the other hand, the presence of abundant divine consolations, which is what the ministers truly long for, and the obvious rewards which St. Paul makes ours when he states, "...the just Judge shall give"⁷ facilitates, soothes and even sweetens it all. To Him may endless thanks be given! Let us forever praise Him for it!

And so, each of the missionary Fathers here has three helpers who assist him in his ministry; they are directly under him as his officials and are always ready to carry out his every wish and command and are, as if his hands and feet in action. The first and the most important of the lay-assistants is one whom we call *fiscal mayor*.⁸ He is usually always one of the *principales*, the most prominent and best men in so far as the

a la calidad de su personas y en cuanto a la verdad de sus costumbres.

Este tiene vara larga, con su casquello; y procúrase siempre que sea con título del señor Obispo por obviar dependencias, o pependencias, con los alcaldes mayores o corregidores; que algunos, por hacer del hombre por acá, sin atender a la equidad, necesidad, razón y causa por qué se señalan, y la precisa que los ministros tienen de quien les ayude, se oponen a que traigan varas, arrimados a cierta Cédula Real que las prohíbe; pero acá los señores gobernadores y la Real Audiencia que ven de lo que sirven y cuán necesarios son, no sólo pasan por ello, sino que mandan se nombren y tengan tales fiscales para ayuda del ministerio.

Este fiscal mayor está siempre en el pueblo cuando el ministro asiste en él, y es como compañero, que siempre que sale el ministro de casa para cualquier efecto, o de administrar algún sacramento u otros, le acompaña y asiste; que siempre es bien y más decente que sean hombres de edad y de calidad los tales, y que sean testigos de las acciones de los ministros, ya que, por la falta de religiosos, es fuerza que anden y vayan solos, y su compañía suple en parte a los socios de la Religión; y no es de poca monta esta obligación y asistencia de los dichos fiscales mayores a todos y en todas partes, pues cada pueblo tiene el suyo.

Este es también el que llama, con otros fiscalillos que tiene para este efecto, a los que no acuden a misa y a la gente de mal hacer o vivir, cuando es necesario; que, aunque ellos comúnmente no tienen cepos ni cárceles, ni castigan a nadie, sino es con comisión especial del señor Obispo, o general o particular; pero entréganlos a los gobernadores del pueblo cuando el caso lo pide (excepto en casos de muertes o heridas, que a esto no acuden ni se entremeten como ministros eclesiásticos), para que se les dé algún castigo, o de azotes o de otras faenas; que siempre procuramos los ministros (aunque el uso y derecho de castigar como padres a sus hijos no le esté a nadie impedido, y ningunos más que los ministros por acá son y deben ser padres de estos pobres, y tratarles como hijos, como diremos en su lugar), con todo a

quality of their persons and the integrity of their character is concerned

This individual bears a long baton with its *casquello*ⁿ and we see to it that he is given the title by the Lord Bishop so as to obviate contracting indebtedness, obligations and quarrels with the *Alcaldes Mayores* or the *Corregidores*. The reason for this is that some of them, without paying attention to equity, necessity, reason and cause why they are appointed — the need that the ministers have for their services — oppose their bearing the staff, basing themselves on some Royal Decree which forbids them this privilege (i.e. of bearing the staff). But here the Lord Governors and the Royal *Audiencia*, who realize how helpful and indispensable they are, not only tolerate it but also demand that such *fiscales* be appointed and kept to assist in the ministry.

This *fiscal mayor* is always in town when the minister is present and he is like a companion going with him and assisting him constantly. It is always good and even more fitting that such be mature men and of good social standing; that they be witnesses to the activities of the minister. Due to the lack of Religious, the ministers are forced to move about alone, hence the *fiscales* are like a substitute for the "socii" in Religion. The companionship of the said *fiscales mayores* in all the towns (for each town has its own *fiscal*) is of no little consequence.

This *fiscal* is also the one who, assisted by other *fiscales* of lower rank (*fiscalillos*) and fall under him in this work, searches out those who do not attend Mass or pursues individuals of bad conduct or ill-repute whenever it is necessary. As a rule they do not punish anyone nor do they have stockades or prisons for them unless they are given a special mandate from the Lord Bishop, either general or particular; they simply turn them over to the town authorities whenever the case so demands (except in cases of murder or stabbing, otherwise they do not interfere in these matters since they only serve in the capacity of ecclesiastical ministers) so that punishment may be inflicted either by flogging or in other ways. We ministers always see to it (although the practice and right of inflicting punishment, as fathers do to their children, is not forbidden to anyone; here no one with greater reason than the ministers are and must be fathers to these poor ones and treat them like sons, as we shall see in its place) that

los castigos de más monta, que son de unos doce o veinte azotes, se procura que corran por mano de los ministros de Justicia que hay en los pueblos, porque no se falte de parte de los ministros eclesiásticos a la suavidad y lenidad de ministros evangélicos y a la mayor piedad y caridad de padres, que, aunque castigan cuando es necesario con mansedumbre a sus hijos, nunca olvidan, ni deben olvidar, el amor de tales, con estos párvulos en la fe y cortos en mayores noticias.

Sirve, a más de esto, el fiscal mayor de amonestar a los que se han de casar en tiempo de misa tres veces, según el uso de la Iglesia; de llamarles a que vengan a confesarse, cumplidas las amonestaciones; y a desposarse y casarse a la iglesia, como hemos dicho. El mismo asiste como testigo a todos los casamientos, pues, por ser de lo mejor y más entendido de los pueblos, suele tener mayores y mejores noticias de los impedimentos que puede y suele haber (de que pocos o ninguno de los otros da parte al Padre); antes, si alguno sabe algo, acude comúnmente al dicho fiscal mayor para que avise él al ministro, a quien, o por su cordadad o recelo que nunca les falta, pocas veces o raras acuden a dar parte, aunque les conste de algún impedimento.

Los provechos y paga que todo esto tiene, y de acudir en lo deméstico y externo, y cuanto el ministro le manda, es solo no pagar tributo, si acaso no es cabeza o *ginhaopan* (que pocas veces deja de serlo) se le da de cada amonestación un real, si es indio que tenga para ello; y, si es algo pobre, medio; y, si es pobre totalmente, nada; que con sola esta leve paga acuden a todo lo dicho y estiman el ser fiscales mayores por el aprecio que los Padres hacen de ellos y por la reverencia que por esta causa les hacen todos los demás; es en tanto grado que para hacer gobernadores de los pueblos, se hallan pocos, y menos si son de los grandes prin-

when the punishments that go beyond twelve or twenty scourges, it becomes the responsibility of the ministers of justice whom we have here in these towns. This is done so that the ministers may not be found wanting in gentleness and leniency which befits and becomes the evangelical ministers and for the sake of the piety and charity of the Fathers who, although punishing their children with meekness whenever it is necessary, must never forget or ought not forget their fatherly love for these little children in the Faith so deprived of intellectual discipline.

Aside from these responsibilities, the *fiscal mayor* is available to do the reading of the banns during the Mass in accord with the practice of the Church which concerns those who are about to get married. After the banns have been published, he must see to it that they are present to make their Confessions and that they are present in church for the veiling and marriage ceremony, as we have already stated. He himself must be present as a witness to all the weddings, since he is the most educated and most prominent in the towns and as a result possesses a better and a deeper knowledge about the impediments which may exist and often do exist, and which few or none of the other people dare to report to the Father. Instead, if anyone knows something, he commonly approaches the said *fiscal mayor* so that he may, in turn, notify the minister. The others, because of their scanty mental training or because of fear, which is never wanting in them, rarely or only occasionally come to report such matters, even though they are certain of some impediment.

The offerings and the income that all this brings them, which include supervising the domestic chores, outside duties and executing whatever the minister suggests, consists only in being freed from the tribute. He is also given one *real* from the banns announced if the couple getting married are natives who can afford it; if they are poor, only a half-*real* and if they are extremely poor, nothing. They perform all these tasks for only such an insignificant and menial pay. Many desire greatly to be *fiscales mayores* due to the esteem in which the Fathers hold them and for the respect others show them. These are held in such high regard and respect that there are few others who would be capable of holding the position of governors of the towns and all the less if they would come from the more prominent class of the *prin-*

cipales (de los que no lo quieren ser; la causa diremos en su lugar) y para fiscales mayores nadie se excusa, antes se estima, agradece y se precian mucho de serlo.

El segundo oficial es el que llamanos acá *maestro de los muchachos*, o *maestrillo*, para diferenciarle del maestro de los cantores (que este es otro, y otra su ocupación, como diremos). Este es el que cuida de los muchachos que llamamos *LIBOR*, que son, como dijimos, los que acuden a rezar a la iglesia todos los días excepto el jueves y domingo, cuando el Padre está en el pueblo.

Ellos los acompañan en la procesión de la doctrina que se hace todas las mañanas por el pueblo, yendo tras ellos para que vayan en orden y con compostura y modestia; él cuida que recen en la iglesia y les enseña cuando no saben y corrije cuando yerran, y atiende a que al tiempo de misa estén quietos y no jueguen y hagan ruido

Cuando se les manda hacer algo, él les acompaña y divide; él los cuenta cuando el Padre está ocupado y les azota cuando no acuden; y, al fin, es como pedagogo de todos ellos, y de cada uno en especial.

Es, fuera de esto, sacristán mayor y que cuida de los ornamentos y alhajas de la iglesia cuando no está el Padre, que mucho más necesario es ese cuidado; y él, finalmente, es el que está más a mano a todas horas para lo que se le ofreciere al Padre ministro; y, cuando hay entierros, cuida de señalar el lugar para la sepultura, o dentro de la iglesia a los que en ella se entierran, o fuera en el cementerio; y cuida de que traigan candelas (que el dárselas es lo ordinario), y que paguen el entierro; y toda la paga son dos reales los más hacendados, uno para dicho maestrillo y otro para los sacristanes que llevan la cruz y ciriales, y doblan, etc.; y, si es esclavo el difunto, o pobre, da sólo un real; y, si muy

cipales (from among those who are not interested in holding the position of governor we shall mention in another place). No one would ever reject the offer of *fiscal mayor*; rather, they greatly cherish the position, take pride in being such and show gratitude for it.

The second official is the one whom we call over here *maestro de los muchachos* or *maestrillo* (boys' prefect or petty prefect of the boys) to distinguish him from the prefect of the *cantores* (who is another and whose duties are different as we shall see later). This one is in charge of the boys whom we call *libor* and who are, as we have said, the ones who go to church to pray every day, excepting Thursdays and Sundays, whenever the Father is in the town.

They accompany them in the procession for the *doctrina* which is performed in the town every morning. Usually they walk behind them to make sure they march in an orderly manner, with composure and in modesty; he also sees to it that they pray in church, instructing them when they do not know how and correcting them when they make errors. He also sees to it that they keep silent and refrain from making any noise during the Mass.

Whenever they are assigned a task, he is there among them dividing them into groups; whenever the Father is occupied, he checks on them and whips them when they fail to appear. In a word, he is like a teacher of them all and of each one in particular.

In addition, he is also a *sacristan mayor* and one who is responsible for the vestments and vessels of the church when the Father is not around; this supervision is extremely important. Finally, he is also the one who makes himself available for whatever need the Father minister may request. Also whenever there are burials, it is he who is charged with the task of marking out a place for the grave either within the church or in the cemetery as the case may be. Then too, he sees to it that they bring candles with them (ordinarily they are provided with them) and that they leave an offering for the funeral services. The most that is collected from them is about two *reales* from the wealthiest; one *real* is for the said *maestrillo*, and the other for the sacristans who bear the Cross and the candle holders and who toll the bells; if he is a slave or poor he gives one *real* only; if

pobre, nada; que todo esto es el gasto que se hace en cada entierro en nuestros ministerios, sin que den al ministro ni una blanca por acudir a ellos; excepto los que dan algo de limosna para la iglesia, y de esto no le toca nada al ministro, sino sólo el cuidado que se cobre y compre lo necesario para ella, o de sus alhajas, etc.

Y de lo dicho se colegirá cuánto pueden ganar los oficiales de los Padres y cuánto ellos, pues todo se reduce a lo dicho, que es nada; y no se hallará otro ministerio, o sea de clérigos o religiosos cualesquiera, que lleve menos, ni aun tan poco, como lo dicho; y esto muchas veces ni se paga ni se cobra por la negligencia de los oficiales y por la pobreza de los parientes de los difuntos, etc.

CAPITULO 21

DE LAS OTRAS OBRAS DE MISERICORDIA, CORPORALES Y ESPIRITUALES, EN QUE SE OCUPAN ACA LOS MINISTROS, Y DE LOS HOSPITALES Y SEMINARIOS QUE SE FUNDARON ACA AL PRINCIPIO

No se encierra en sola la administración de los santos sacramentos, con las circunstancias que hemos dicho, la piedad y misericordia de los Padres ministros de estos naturales, pues a mucho más se extiende, y es a todas las obras de misericordia, corporales y espirituales, pues su necesidad es general en todos, y la atención y cuidado de los ministros debe ser universal que todo lo alcance, y particular que a nadie deseche, pues raro es el que por acá ejercita semejantes obras de piedad, o por su cortedad o por su flojedad, y todo lo deben hacer y disponer los ministros, o por sí o por otros; que, amonestados o tal vez compelidos por ellos, cooperan a semejantes obras de virtud, y no es ni debe de ser moderado el cuidado de los ministros en atender a esto, pues cuanto

very poor, nothing. Since these are the only costs incurred during the burial in our ministries, the ministers do not receive one penny for rendering that service except, per chance, when someone offers a little alms which is intended for the upkeep of the church. Out of all this nothing goes to the minister but the responsibility to utilize whatever comes in for the needs of the church and its sacred vessels.

And therefore from what has been stated, it may be surmized how much the officials of the Fathers are able to earn and how much the Fathers themselves receive, since everything is summed up in what has been said; that is, they receive nothing. No other kind of ministry can be found, whether served by the secular clergy or by any other Religious whatsoever, which insists on less and even as little as has been pointed out. What more, many times even this is neither offered nor gathered due to the negligence of the officials and because of the poverty of the relatives of the deceased, etc.

CHAPTER 21

CONCERNING OTHER WORKS OF MERCY, SPIRITUAL AND CORPORAL, WITH WHICH THE MINISTERS BUSY THEMSELVES HERE; AND ABOUT THE HOS- PITALS AND SEMINARIES WHICH WERE FOUNDED HERE IN THE BEGINNING.

The compassion and piety of the Father ministers among these natives is not limited only to the administration of the holy Sacraments under the circumstances already mentioned; it all goes much further: that is, to all the works of mercy, corporal and spiritual, since everyone is in need of them. The concern and diligence of the ministers must be universal, touching everyone and overlooking no one, because here, rare is the individual who practices such works of piety, due perhaps to a lack of proper instruction or to indolence. Therefore, the ministers must do and be concerned about everything, either themselves or through others; either through invitation or through compulsion into such works of virtue. The concern of the ministers in attending to

son ellos más necesitados y destituidos de quien les ayude, deben más cuidar de ayudarles y ampararles.

Diremos, primero, de las corporales en breve, y luego de las espirituales; que pienso que tanta es la necesidad que tienen a las veces de las unas como de las otras.

El sustento necesario para la vida es tan forzoso a las veces el dárselo que no está en elección, pues viene a ser obligación; porque las hambres son no pocas y a veces tales que se mueren algunos por falta de comida, y, aunque tienen tantas y tan varias de que se sustentan, ya de estos montes, con todo, o por las muchas secas, tal vez, o por la sobra de las aguas u otras, es tanta su falta que perecen algunos y se hallan muertos en los caminos; y en estas ocasiones se debe extender, y se extiende, no pocas la misericordia de los ministros, no solo a dársela, pero aun a mandarlos buscar y traer de los más fuertes a los pueblos, para que en ellos se les acuda y remedie.

Diré lo que me pasó a mí pocos meses ha, y esto ha pasado en otras muchas ocasiones. Avisáronme que en un pueblo, visita mía, se morían de hambre, y que habían hallado en los montes algunos que, habiendo ido en busca de comida, los habían faltado las fuerzas, y algunos muerto totalmente; y otros, a no haber llegado con tiempo quien los buscó y llevádoles algo de comer, hubieran muerto sin duda.

Fui luego al dicho pueblo, que dista tres leguas de este de Catbalogan (donde escribo esto), mandé avisar, aun antes de ir, que todos los que se hallasen sin comida se viniesen al pueblo, que yo se la daría. Es pueblo de más de trescientos ochenta casados, y yo sólo tenía en él veinte fanegas de arroz, poco más o menos.

Fui allá, y en dos días que me detuve, sólo por este fin, les dividí a cuantos vinieron, chicos y grandes; y algunos fue nece-

everyone must not be small in scope; the more the natives are plunged into greater need and have no one to give them a helping hand, the more the ministers must exert greater diligence in aiding them and protecting them.

First of all, we shall briefly discuss the corporal ones, and then the spiritual; I think that at times they are as much in need of the former as of the latter.

It is imperative at times to provide them with the necessities of life; this is not a matter of choice but an obligation, because the famines are not a few. At times these famines bring about such a great degree of starvation that some die from a lack of nourishment. Although they are blessed with such a great variety of edibles, either through cultivating them or sowing them or even which the earth itself produces in these jungles; yet, due to frequent droughts perhaps or due to heavy rains or even for some reasons, the shortage becomes such that it causes starvation and many, as a result, are found dead along the wayside. It is on these occasions especially that the compassion of the ministers must be exercised; not only in providing them with sustenance but also in bringing to the towns those who might die from starvation and thus restore them to good health.

I shall narrate what happened to me a few months ago, and this has happened on many other occasions before. They reported to me that in a town or rather in a *visita* of mine, they were dying from hunger; also that they have discovered in the woods some who were in search of food and who collapsed and died from exhaustion; others too, no doubt, would have died if someone who was out searching for them had not arrived on time and provided them with nourishment.

I immediately went out to the said town, which is about three leagues distant from this one of Catbalogan¹ (where I am writing this); there I passed around the word even before my arrival, that all those who are in need of food, should come to the town and that I would provide them with it. It is a town of more than three hundred and eighty married people, and I had about twenty *fanegas* of rice, more or less.

I went there and during the two days that I tarried with them for this sole reason, I distributed rice to all who came be they the little ones or adults. What more, it was found necessary

sario enviar por ellos por estar tan flacos que no podían andar. Entre otros me trajeron una madre de dos chiquillos; el uno andaba ya por sus pies, y el otro mamaba aún; pero a la madre la hallaron medio muerta en un arroyo, donde se había caído y no se había podido levantar de flaqueza. El un hijuelo, que mamaba aún, estaba tan flaco que sólo tenía los huesos y la piel, tal que de puro flaco no podía llorar. Diles de comer tres o cuatro días, y quiso Dios que, como el mal era solo hambre, después de ellos volvieron algo en sí. Diles que llevasen consigo y al fin escaparon.

Contóme entonces la madre que había ocho días que con solas hojas de camote se habían sustentado ella y el hijuelo mayor; pero que como a ella la chupaba por el pecho el menor, le faltaron totalmente las fuerzas y que, si hubiera estado algunas horas más en el arroyo, sin duda quedara muerta.

De estos lances se ofrecen muchos por acá, y en ellos no puede ni debe perdonar el ministro a lo que tuviere, como de hecho se les acude siempre; y, aunque yo me hallaba con muy poco arroz en esta cabecera (que de ellas, como dijimos ya, se proveen los otros ministros), hube de gastar en darles a unos y prestar a otros más de cien fanegas que tenía; y, aunque me expuse a riesgo conocido de quedarme sin nada, no lo quiso Dios, pues poco después me vinieron más de ciento cincuenta fanegas, de donde yo no esperaba ni veinte; que de estas providencias pudiera contar varias que me han sucedido por acá.

Sólo añadiré una que la tuve por milagrosa, y fue que en otro año de mucha hambre, y que ni por dinero se hallaba en Cebú qué comer, me hallé yo en aquella ciudad; y, aunque con sólo lo necesario para el avío del Colegio y sus haciendas, viendo la necesidad grande y los muchos que acudían (aun españoles y españolas) a pedir algo qué comer, me determiné fiar en Dios y dar a todos cuantos viniesen, según su calidad, algún socorro; y, por no verme obligado a acortarle a un Hermano nuestro, que cuidaba de la despensa, le dije que apuntase, como siempre, lo que se daba a la gente de las haciendas; pero que lo que se diese de limosna no lo apuntase, que a cuenta de Dios iba lo que se daba.

La necesidad duró más de un mes, y en él se gastó, a mi ver, tres veces más de lo que se solía en los otros; pero, cuando ya estábamos con desahogo, por ver lo que se había despendido en los gastos domésticos, y de lo que quedaba, y hallé que aún sobraron

to fetch some of those who were so weak and were unable to come by themselves. I was informed about a mother who for eight days she and her elder little child had only lived on *camote*² leaves; but since the younger one was still nursing, her strength totally failed her. She also mentioned that if she had remained a few hours longer in that creek, undoubtedly she would have passed away.

These occurrences are frequent around here; whenever confronted with them, the ministers cannot nor ought to spare everything they have. In fact, the ministers more than stretch out their helping hand. Although my rice reserves in this *cabecera* were low (as I have already stated, it is from the *cabeceras* that the other mission stations receive their share of provisions) I had to share it all by giving it away or by lending it to some; it all amounted to about one hundred *fanegas* which I had in reserve; even though I ran the risk of withholding nothing for myself, God did not allow (any ill consequences). Not long afterwards I received more than one hundred and fifty *fanegas* from a source which I did not expect to receive more than twenty *fanegas*. Here are only some of the acts of Divine Providence which came my way and which I wish to relate here.

I shall add here only one more which I consider truly miraculous: it was also during a year of great famine when I was in the City of Cebu and where one could not even purchase anything to eat. Although I had only what was indispensable for the needs of the College and its farms, seeing the great want and the many that came to beg something to eat (including Spaniards, men as well as women) I made up my mind to trust in God and help as many as might request. And in order to allow a Brother of ours, who was in charge of the store-room, to act freely, I asked him to jot down, as always, whatever was given out to the household and the people in the farms, but not to jot down whatever was handed out by way of alms — charging it to God's account.

The famine lasted for about one month; the usual amount of rice consumed during this time was three times larger than the quantity consumed during the other times. When the crisis passed, I tried to compare what had been given out for household needs and what was left. I discovered that there were basket-fulls still left which were meant for the domestic consumption. Not

algunos cestos del recibo y gasto ordinario; y que todo lo que se había dado de limosna, no sólo no se halló menos, sino que habiendo de exceder el gasto según cuenta, el arroz fue el que excedió y hubo algunos cestos de sobra, además de los muchos que se habían dado de limosna; que esto lo sabe, y suele hacer Dios fácilmente, y lo hace muchas veces, porque, como dicen, que al liberal nunca le falta que dar, a Dios, por quien se da y lo sabe aumentar, nada se le pasa por alto, y lo que se da a los pobres hace que se aumente siempre

No se puede, fuera de esto, excusar a las veces, aunque no es tan necesario para el vivir, el darles con qué se cubran y tapen. Son sinnúmero los muchachos, y más en particular muchachas, a quien damos con qué cubrirse, porque entre estos naturales era muy usado, y lo es aún hoy, que los muchachos y muchachas en sus casas estén en cueros, o ya por el calor que es grande, o ya por la soledad, teniendo poco reparo entre padres e hijos, o ya por su pobreza y miseria; y así la excusa que suelen dar muchas veces, para no traerlos a la doctrina, es que están en cueros, y no pocas, cuando son pobres (que los traen de esta manera), es fuerza darles con qué se cubran porque no entren en la iglesia con el vestido de la inocencia, que, aunque entre sí reparan poco, el cuidado de los ministros debe reparar mucho en ello por la indecencia que consigo traen, y esto se hace fácilmente; y esto dándoles el ministro con qué se tapen, como se lo damos.

Y es cierto que pudiera contar muchos y muchas, y aun hijos e hijas de los mayores principales, a quien he dado yo de vestir, no una vez ni dos solamente, a veces por su necesidad, y a veces por tener ganados a sus padres y afectos a las cosas de Dios; que bien conocen que sólo por él se hacen estas y semejantes limosnas, no sólo a los niños y niñas, sino a viejos y viejas, que por serlo, y desamparados, no tienen quien se lo dé; de modo

only no diminution was found but also the expenditure which was expected to go far beyond the reserves, according to calculations, nonetheless far more had been given out as alms than was actually had; yet there were some basket-fulls remaining. Only God knows how to accomplish things like this, and work them so readily, so frequently! For, as they say, that the generous person always has something to give; and God, in Whose Name it is given, knows how to increase it; He does concern Himself with everything and sees to it that what is shared with the poor is always multiplied

Aside from this, we cannot excuse ourselves at times from providing them with something to clothe themselves, although it is not so necessary for life. Numerous are the boys and more particularly the girls, whom we provide with something to clothe themselves; for among these natives it was a common occurrence and still is today for boys and girls to go around naked in the home, either because of the heat which is oppressive or because of the separation — parents and children are not concerned about this at all; or maybe even because of their poverty and misery. And thus, the excuse that they often give for not bringing them to the *doctrina* is that they have nothing to wear. When they are really poor, many times it is necessary to provide them with something to wear (for they bring them this way) so that they may not enter the church clothed only with the attire of 'innocence'. Among themselves, however, they are completely unconcerned about this matter. Love and concern of the ministers must take all this into consideration and make earnest efforts to clothe that indecency with which they are so free; and so the ministers certainly provide clothing for them.

And so all this is really true! I could enumerate times that I have provided (even the sons and daughters of the *principales*) them with something to wear, and not merely once or just twice. Sometimes I did this because they needed it, and at other times so as to win their parents over and have them become more amenable to the things of God. They know, for example, that we do this only out of love for God when we share this clothing and similar alms; we do this not only for the boys and girls, but also for the elderly men and women since they cannot find anyone else to help them in their destitution. Although the clothing

que, aunque no sea de mucho costo la ropa que se les da comúnmente, no deja de ser de alguno, pues muchos pocos hacen un mucho.

¿Qué diré de las necesidades que padecen los enfermos, así por falta de remedios como por falta de algún sustento algo mejor que el suyo ordinario?

Ha de ser médico y cirujano, y aun más que esto, cada ministro por acá, pues a él acuden todos y siempre, pues no hay otro a quien acudir, y así todos procuramos saber de sus simples hierbas y raíces, (que ya dijimos que las hay acá muchas y muy eficaces) para en las ocasiones enseñarles con qué ha de llegar el ministro a darles y temprarles las bebidas, ya con agua y con vino, ya con otras mezclas y dárselas hechas para que lo beban; y tal vez ha de estar el ministro presente para que lo hagan; y es cierto que una de las cosas que más concilia acá y gana estos pobres es ver que nos hallan en sus necesidades y enfermedades; y es muy cierto que son muchos y muchas las que han curado y curan los ministros; y no son pocos y pocas las que, después de Dios, me deben la vida, que ellos confiesan y agradecen; y, finalmente, hasta para los partos recios y sobrepartos peligrosos tenemos prevenidos remedios; que todo lo ha de saber y ejercer la piedad, celo y caridad de los ministros. En otro lugar referiré algunos casos especiales y raros que me han pasado a mí en esta materia.

Ni de redimir los cautivos faltan acá ocasiones, antes sobran, pues son muchos los que llevan todos los años la multitud de enemigos a que, dijimos ya, están expuestos estos naturales, y, para defenderles antes que se los lleven y para sacarles después del cautiverio, no se perdona ni aun a las alhajas de las iglesias.

Pocos años ha que cautivaron en un pueblo de esta residencia de Samar los camucones cantidad de indios; serían como veinte entre todos. Estaba en el pueblo de Capul un Padre ministro; que sus feligreses eran los cautivos, aunque cogidos no en el pueblo sino en la mar, o en algunas sementeras apartadas del pueblo y cerca de la mar. Supo que estaban surtos, y, movido de la piedad

that is ordinarily given them may not be very expensive, yet it does cost something; what more, a lot of little things shared with them go to make up something greatly significant.

What can we say about the discomforts that the sick must suffer because of the lack of medicines as well as more substantial nourishment than simple, ordinary fare?

Every minister out here must be a physician, a surgeon, and even more than all this since they have no one to turn to and therefore, always come to us. As a result of this, we make great efforts to familiarize ourselves with medicinal herbs and roots (for as we have said these are abundant and quite effective) in order to show them, whenever the occasion presents itself, how the minister must help them; he prepares their potions by mingling water or wine or some other ingredients with it and offering it to them prepared for immediate use. It is necessary that the minister be present when they take these preparations. It is certain that one of the things which attract and ever win these poor ones over to us is our readiness and willingness to help them in their needs and illnesses. It is a fact that those of both sexes healed by the minister are a multitude; those who, next to God, owe their life to me are not a few and this they acknowledge themselves and are deeply grateful for it. Briefly, even in difficult deliveries and risky afterbirth we have some remedies; for the compassion, zeal and love of the ministers ought to learn as much as possible and thus carry it out into practice. In another place I shall relate some special and rare cases which have happened to me in this matter.

Occasions are also plentiful and are never lacking in ransoming captives; numerous are they who are harassed every year and carried away, as we have already said. (We must make great efforts) to protect them before they are carried away or later ransom them from captivity. Not even the sacred vessels of the church are spared.

It is only a few years ago that the Camucones captured in one of the towns of this Samar Residence a good number of natives — about twenty in all. The Father minister was in the town of Capul³ to whose spiritual care these captives belonged; these were not captured in the town but at sea or in the fields; or perhaps, away from the town and near the sea. When he learned that they

cristiana, les envió con bandera de paz quien tratase del rescate. Admitieron ellos el trato y, con rehenes que se dieron de una y otra parte, se llegaron al pueblo de paz (que de guerra no se atrevieran, porque siempre les ha ido mal cuando han intentado hacerlo en dicho pueblo ¡ojalá así fuera en todos!), y, siendo el primero el Padre en los tratos y conciertos y en dar cuanto tenía, rescataron algunos, y no pudieron a todos por no tener para más; que de los indios pocos tuvieron con qué contribuir, aunque algunos dieron lo que pudieron.

De estos lances suceden varias veces, y otras se envía a Burnei y Macasar, donde van a parar los más cautivos para rescatar allí algunos, y ojalá se pudiera a todos, pero la falta de redentores es grande, pues no los hay por acá, y así venimos los ministros a serlo en muchas ocasiones, y ¡ojalá el caudal bastara por todos!

Del enterrar los muertos dicho se está, pues es oficio propio, y no pocas veces es necesario darles para la mortaja; y no sólo enterrarles de valde sino enviar quien vaya por los muertos algunas leguas del pueblo, donde les dejan sus parientes, hombres o mujeres, por no poderlos cargar, y no es una ni dos ni diez veces solas las que yo /he/ enviado, después de algunos días, a buscar y traer los difuntos, que llegan tales que nadie puede sufrir su hedor, y con todo baja el ministro y le acompaña hasta la sepultura, y le entierra, etc.; que en estas ocasiones es cuando luce más y se conoce la piedad cristiana y el celo de los ministros que les atienden, sin mudanza ni alteración alguna, cuando todos ellos huyen y hacen asco del hedor, y no son, ni han sido, pocas las veces en que personalmente han ayudado algunos ministros a cargar el

were lying at anchor, Christian concern moved him to send somebody bearing the flag of truce regarding the ransom. They were amenable to the proposition and after both sides exchanged hostages, the pirates entered the town in a peaceful way (because with war-like intentions they would not dare to enter by any means; for the enemy fared ill whenever they made an attempt to enter this town in such a manner. Would that it would be the case in all the towns!). The Father was the first one to make a deal with them in order to arrive at an agreement by giving them all that he had; as a result they ransomed some captives but not all of them since they did not have the means. Among the natives very few had anything to contribute, although some gave up whatever little they could.

Such incidents take place now and then; at other times some are sent to Burnei⁴ and Macasar for which places most of the captives are always destined and from where we must ransom them. Would to God that all could be redeemed! But there is really a lack of those who would make an effort to ransom these people; in fact, such are not found anywhere here. Therefore, we the ministers must make these efforts on many occasions; would that we would have enough money in order to ransom all of them!

About burying the dead we need not say too much since it is an inescapable obligation; not infrequently is it necessary to give them something for the shroud. Not only do we bury them gratis, but we frequently send someone to bring the deceased from leagues away where they have died; for it is there that the relatives, men or women, leave them since they do not have the means. It is not merely once, twice, or even ten times that I have sent someone to look for and bring the dead for burial. Sometimes they are brought in such a terrible state of decomposition that nobody is able to bear the stench; in spite of it all, the minister goes down and accompanies them to the cemetery and buries them, etc. It is on these occasions that the Christian piety and compassion of the ministers, who attend to them, shine most and are best demonstrated. When all the natives flee and are nauseated from the putrid stench, the ministers stand firm and staunch. There were also times when the ministers personally carried the deceased and helped dig the grave; they never over-

difunto y hacer el hoyo, etc., que nada desprecia el desear y buscar ocasiones de servir a Dios en estos pobres desamparados.

Pues, ¿qué diré de la misericordia espiritual, y las muchas obras que de ella deben usar, y usan, los ministros, pues se puede decir que si hay más que las siete espirituales, más se ejercitan por acá?; y esto es inexcusable y forzoso, aunque el ministro no quisiera, cuánto y más deseando y buscando los ministros ocasiones para ello; pero, poco hay que buscar cuando a manos llenas se ofrecen los lances y a cada paso los objetos en quien emplearse, donde el enseñar más frecuente, pues todos son ignorantes, y un solo ministro ha de enseñar a muchos y por muchos, pues los enseña a todos; donde el aconsejar más necesario, pues es gente en común y en particular sin consejo ni prudencia; donde el corregir más forzoso, pues, siendo los yerros ordinarios, es fuerza que la corrección lo sea; que ellos entre sí ni lo hacen ni se oyen y solo al ministro temen y respetan; donde el consolar más cotidiano, pues las cuitas, afanes, trabajos y cargas son tantas que aun a mayores hombres abrumaran.

Aquí el pacificar encontrados, el amistar discordes, el unir apartados es la ocupación muy ordinaria y necesaria; aquí el ministro ha de cuidar que el hijo respete al padre; la mujer siga y obedezca al marido; el esclavo al señor, y todos a sus mayores. ¿Quién conserva la continencia en las viudas, la castidad en las doncellas, la honestidad en las casadas sino son los mismos? ¿Quién hace que en el gobierno de los pueblos se sujeten a sus mayores, en las casas particulares a sus dueños, sino los Padres?; y, al fin, de ellos depende lo divino todo y humano, lo público y lo particular, lo de Dios y lo del Rey; que ellos a nadie conocen, de nadie se fían y de ninguno confían sino de los Padres, y, si para el alma, para la salud y para la enfermedad, para la muerte estos no les son padres verdaderos para todo, para el cuerpo y para la vida, todo les falta, y todo les espanta, y aun arredra;

look an opportunity or a chance to do good for these unfortunate ones.

But what shall we say about the spiritual acts of mercy and the varied related deeds which pertain to them and which the ministers must perform and actualize? For one thing, we must say that if there could be more than seven spiritual ones, certainly these would be performed here. Even if the minister does not look for these, they are ever present and unavoidable; how much more so it would be if the ministers would make some more effort to look for these occasions! However, one must not do much searchful and there is so much to do. Here instruction is constant because all are unlearned and only one minister is available for so many; it is here that guidance is so necessary because they are a people socially and individually without counsel and prudence; it is here that the constant corrections are so unavoidable, because they so frequently commit faults. It is but proper that the reprimands should be proportionate, for among themselves they never do this nor even listen to it; they only fear and respect the minister. It is also here that one must be more inclined to console, because the worries, the solicitude, the travails, and the burdens are so many that they weigh down the hardest person.

Again, to reconcile those at odds, to restore broken friendships among those living in discord, to bring together those alienated is a very ordinary and necessary preoccupation. Furthermore, the minister must see to it that the son respects the father, that the wife follows and obeys her husband; the slave, his master and that everyone respect his elders. Who, for example, safeguards continency in the widows, chastity in the maidens, fidelity among the married, but the same individual? Who is it that is responsible in the government of the towns that all submit to their elders and in the privacy of their homes to their masters, but the Fathers? In one word, upon him depends all that is divine and human; whatever is public or private and whatever belongs to God or to the King. These people acknowledge none and place their trust in no one but the Fathers; if these are not true 'fathers' to all, in regard to their bodies and souls, in health and in sickness, at the time of death and during life, they are lacking all (that is most important) and thus they will be feared by everyone and everything will frighten them. The greater the concern,

y tanto crecerá, florecerá y se logrará esto en cuanto el cuidado, atención, piedad y caridad de los ministros fuere mayor.

Y mucho más ahora que, aunque a los principios se hicieron acá hospitales para curar los enfermos, y seminarios para enseñar a los niños, en especial a los hijos de los principales, por el mal logro que en uno y otro se hallaba, y por lo poco que el gasto forzoso se lucía, se hubo de dejar uno y otro, porque los bisayas son asquerosísimos en tocar y llegar a los enfermos, y aun los hijos no llegan a sus padres por esto; descuidados en acudirles, flojos en prevenir la comida y remedios, y nada cuidadosos de conservar las cosas, no podía un Padre solo acudir a tanto.

Faltando su asistencia, faltaba todo. Las ausencias han sido y son forzosas, acudiendo a visitar los pueblos. En ausencia del Padre perecían los enfermos; las casas se quemaban, y todo se perdía; y así fue forzoso dejarlos en su cortedad.

Además, que nadie quería acudir, y, por no traerlos al hospital, escondían los enfermos; que ni aun hoy, si no es con mucho cuidado, no se traen a los pueblos; y así se dejaron los hospitales, supliéndose hoy su falta en las casas particulares, cuando se consigue traigan alguno de los enfermos al pueblo, y ayudando los ministros en darles algo de comer y el palo de China, que dijimos ser utilísimo para los curar, y atendiendo a que haya quien les acuda y sirva en estas necesidades.

Los seminarios se fundaron a los principios también con deseos eficaces, y aun con los medios convenientes, para la enseñanza de la juventud y en especial de los hijos de los principales. Hiciéronse para esto casas aparte, aunque muy cerca de las nuestras, con tránsito a ellas.

Diéronles un Hermano que cuidase de darles lo necesario de comer y vestir; tenían hábito particular de unas sotanillas, sin cuellos y largas hasta los pies, todas de un color decente; dábanles maestros para leer y escribir, cantar y aun para otras muchas

the reaching-out, the piety and the charity of the ministers, the more all will grow, prosper and become successful!

All this is now even more true, because in the beginning hospitals were opened here to nurse the sick and seminaries⁵ were established for the children, especially the sons of the *principales*.

Due to the failures experienced in both ventures and because the results did not equal the expenditures, both had to be abandoned. The Bisayans feel an extreme repugnance in touching and handling the sick; even the sons do not get close to the fathers; hence, they are negligent in caring for them, slow in preparing the food and medicines and by no means are they careful in looking after the equipment. One Father alone could not attend to so much work.

If his supervision was not present then everything was lacking. His absences have been and are unavoidable; he must visit the towns, of course. In the absence of the Father, the sick perished; the houses got burned and everything was lost. Therefore, the only solution was to leave them as they had been in their primitive condition.

What more, nobody wanted to enter them; some, to avoid the trouble of bringing them to the hospital, hid the sick (in their homes). Even at present, if one is not very watchful, they do not bring them to the towns. And so as a result, the hospitals were given up; they place the sick in the private homes. When we insist that they bring them to the town, we assist them with provisions of food and *palo de China*⁶, which we have said is a most useful cure; we also see to it that there is someone who takes care of them, serve them in their needs.

The seminaries too were founded in the beginnings with the best of intentions and also with the appropriate means for the instruction of the youth, especially the sons of the *principales*. For this purpose, separate houses were set-up very close to ours and with a passage-way connecting them.

A lay-brother was assigned to them who took care of providing them with food and clothing. They were dressed in a special uniform consisting of a small cassock, without a collar and reaching down to the feet — all of a decent color. They were provided with instructors to teach how to read, to write, to sing and even some handicrafts. Nothing, however, was accomplished!

obras de manos; pero nada se logró porque estaban aún muy cerriles y en jezanga (?), más duchos para el campo que para un jardín, y así fue perderlo todo; porque gastaron y malograron lo que en esto la curiosidad obraba, y, rompiendo para huirse como venados, o se morían de coraje o no parecían.

Lo mismo sucedió con los seminaristas, pues se hubieron de largar a su libertad, porque fue imposible tenerles encerrados, y crecieron poco en virtud y otras habilidades; en bellaquerías mucho.

Con lo cual se acabaron presto los seminarios; que no todo es bueno en todas partes, pues aun en las plantas y frutos dijo Virgilio, *non omnis fert omnia tellus*, y la experiencia nos lo muestra harto aun entre los más políticos, cuánto más por acá.

Seemingly they were untamed and better suited for the free and wild life of the fields rather than for the cultivated garden. Again, as a result, all came to naught! Because all that was done for them, fell on barren soil. They would break loose like the deer and feeling somewhat sheltered too many failed to return.

The same thing happened to the seminarians because the boys often escaped to enjoy their freedom. It was impossible to have them enclosed; they grew very little in virtue and in other skills, but they did grow much in knavery.

And, therefore, the seminaries too, soon came to their end; for not everything is good for every place. "Even the plants and fruits," Virgil once said, "do not produce everything in one kind of soil". Experience greatly proves it to us, that it is so even among the very civilized — how much more so over here?

CHAPTER 22

CONCERNING OTHER MEANS AND REMEDIES THAT HAVE BEEN EMPLOYED AND ARE UTILIZED IN PROMOTING THE GROWTH OF THE FAITH AND GOOD MORALS AMONG THESE NATIVES

(Summary only)

Repeatedly, I have stated many times that all the faith, hope, charity and the good works which these natives perform depend upon the assistance, insistence and vigilance of the ministers and the evangelical labourers. It is for this reason, therefore, that we must promote and enliven, for the present and for the future, the *Congregations of Our Lady*¹ which will serve as a leaven providing depth to life, strength to virtue and encouragement to frequent participation in the Sacraments.

Here in these ministries it is desirable that the ministers avoid all singularity and familiarity in dealing with women, especially when alone; although such interaction may have a noble purpose it may, nonetheless, be wrongly interpreted by others. When such a collaboration does take place, the reactions of others should not be taken too lightly, since such opportunities are not a few.

Whenever they come with their petty quarrels and domestic problems (for they bring everything to the attention of the

Fathers), it is in order that they receive advice and be taught how to resolve it. This means that they learn to rise above their human understandings toward divine submission and union; from their sins, whether public or hidden, toward personal amendment and correction. It is certain that through kind and gentle words much more is wrought than through punishments, threats or other violent means.

Many cases may be related in support of this proposition; however, since they are all so similar, I shall only report one which happened to me in one of the *cabeceras* of these *doctrinas* where I was assigned as Superior for the first time.² It is as follows.

In the town of Carigara,³ which was the first to receive the ministers, and today is one of the two *cabeceras* which belong to the Church of Leyte — as we shall see in the succeeding Book — there was a certain *Principala* known as Doña Maria Himalay⁴ which means to say «a diligent and a good house-wife». She was one of the most outstanding *principalas* in that town which was still dependent upon Barugo,⁵ its neighboring town.

She married, or rather as experience here shows, she was married-off by her parents to a certain well-known *Datu* of Carigara, known as Don Pedro Macauat, which means to say, 'a thief'. I mention both of them here simply because they are deceased now and because what I write here is public knowledge.

Since she was thus married against her own will, she quickly forgot the obligations of her state and sublime position and fell in love with another man. This relationship went to such limits that no amount of threats nor punishments were sufficient to break the sinful friendship which endured for many years. Even though they punished her to the extent of cutting her tresses,⁶ a punishment that is very keenly felt here, she refused to amend her ways.

This scandal had been going on for many years. By the time I was made superior of that Residence, it was public knowledge. Even prior to my appointment there, I was already quite familiar with all the details of the episode and thus was eager to bring the entire matter to a stop, if it were possible in any way. And, therefore, at the very outset I feigned to treat her with greater kindness and politeness and thereby show her that I was more satisfied with her than what her loose morals really deserved.

With this approach, I gradually began to win her over until I found the opportune moment to speak to her with clarity, gentleness and kindness. I cautioned her about the bad reputation she made for herself and how, due to her and her husband's high position, she was obliged to bring all this to an end. Then too, I admonished her about her obligations towards God and how greatly she offended Him with her undesirable life and because her state of affairs was well known by the entire town. Therefore, I implored her to look after her soul, her person and reputation and thus plunge into amending her ways and thus make-up for the past. I also assured her that at present I did not intend to confront her any more or even less, punish her since these were already too excessive, but only to help her admit her improper conduct. Then too, since she had spent a greater portion of her life in such impropriety, I requested her to spend the remainder, which could not be too long anymore since she was already about forty-eight or fifty years old, in correcting the past and making up for so much lost time. In making such a response, I and all the others, would hold her in greatest esteem and this, in turn, would accrue to her advantage. I further urged her to commend herself to the Lord while I too offered to do the same by offering some Masses in honour of the Virgin. Finally, when I dismissed her, she apparently left quite joyful and grateful.

When she had returned after several days, she was greatly changed; after having thanked me profusely not without tears, she said to me; 'Father, it is more than thirty years that I have suffered such trials at home and outside as well; all that time, there has scarcely been one Rector here who has not punished and confronted me in various ways, even to the point of cutting my tresses and placing me under custody. None of these things had any effect upon me. On the contrary, had I not been obliged to care for my mother and my slaves, I would have taken to the hills. However, the more they pressed and afflicted me, the more I hardened myself in my evil ways. Perhaps, God wills that all this may see its end, for you have accomplished more with your gentle ways than all those who have preceeded you here with all their ruthlessness.

'From this day forward, I promise you and I will swear to it if necessary before the image of the Virgin that all this will now be over; that I will now give up this deeply-rooted habit and forget it in such a way as if it had never happened. Please,

pray to God and to our Blessed Lady to give me the strength and the firmness; for with their help I will certainly be able to keep it.'

In the end, she broke into tears that almost compelled me to do the same; interiorly I was inclined and moved to give thanks to God for what I was seeing and hearing.

Then, after having spent some days in examining her conscience, she returned and made a general confession and thus found much satisfaction and I, no less.

After a lapse of several months during which she lived in a completely different manner, she requested reception into the *Congregation* to which she was admitted in due time where she excelled in the practice of virtuous works and in the frequent reception of the Sacraments. She went on living this way without any let up for more than two years; for this took place during the first year of my rectorship. Upon my departure, even though she remained steadfast, I urged her, nonetheless, to continue with her fine resolve. She finally died some months after I left; shortly thereafter when I passed by the place, the women members of the *Congregation* praised highly her beautiful death and her perseverance in religious behaviour till the very end.

For this reason, since it is one of the most efficacious and important means and remedies in advancing the proper instruction especially among the women, we have introduced a special task in these *Doctrinas* which was executed by one of the women called a *Maestra* — a position of great relevance and [spiritual] profit. This *Maestra*, then, is one of the more important and better *principales* in the town. She is exempt from paying the tribute and from personal services.⁷ In the selection of such an individual, aside from her natural endowments and nobility — so that she may be more respected, for the natives here look up to such — we take into account her virtue, good morals and see to it that she is a fine Christian and a good example to the townsfolk.

Her chief preoccupation is to attend to the instruction of the little girls and the so-called *daragas* who are obliged to report on all Saturdays until they marry or reach the age which requires them to pay the tribute. Once they begin paying the tribute they are freed from the jurisdiction of the *Maestra* and fall into the class of the tribute payers.

So that she may expedite her duties with greater facility, a separate house is built for her in the town where the above-mentioned individuals gather. This is like a house of recollection and is held in greater respect than any other. Those who violate its sanctuary are severely punished. The males were not permitted to sleep in that house, even if they be the children of the *Maestra* herself. At most, perhaps, her husband may join her if she is married.

Care is also taken that she may not be too advanced in age so that she may be able to accompany the girls to church and where she remains with them for prayers and participates at Mass. She must see to it too that they behave properly, observe silence and that the prayers are recited in unison and without mistakes.

We also see to it that when the children are in town without their parents, they sleep together in that house. While there, the *Maestra* watches over the behaviour and reports any misdeeds, for among so many it is not surprising that some wrong-doing may occur.

Also, those who become a source of bad example and lead lives which are hardly edifying, are placed in this house of the *Maestra*, where by working or weaving they earn their livelihood. Then too, women who through some fault of their own are separated from their husbands, may also find shelter there.

The *Maestras* also counsel others in the art of living well; it is also through them that many of the secret offenses against God are remedied. For it is through them that these individuals are counselled, admonished and even threatened with punishment, if they do not change.

About the exemplary life and death of some of these *Maestras*, we shall treat in the succeeding Book.

CHAPTER 23

CONCERNING THE WAY OF LIFE AS REGARDS THE RELIGIOUS STATE AND PERFECTION OF EACH MINISTER; ABOUT THE QUALITIES NECESSARY FOR THOSE WHO LIVE IN THESE MINISTRIES AND ARE ENGAGED IN ITS TASKS

(Summary only)

The very first matter to which every minister must attend to in every place and at all times must be his own struggle for

perfection, for this is an imperative of the *Rule* for every member of the Society. It is an undeniable fact that a minister who disregards the concerns of his own soul, certainly lives contrary to the *Rule*. For it states: "The goal of our vocation is not only to strive, with the help of Divine grace, for the salvation and perfection of our neighbors, but above all and primarily for the perfection of our own souls, with the aid of the same grace."

And so, it is quite clear that he who pays more attention to that which is Divine is much better prepared to attend to that which is a human undertaking. The Religious who is more advanced in spiritual perfection is the more ideal minister. Such an individual is more charitable, more punctual and more readily available to attend to the welfare of souls.

For this reason efforts have been exerted to always provide a good example in everything; this example, in turn, must spring from a noble, holy and praise-worthy behaviour of the ministers.

And, therefore, speaking first about the community practices which are begun at the sound of the bell, none of them are ever omitted, altered or even much less, ever given up.

At daybreak, either the Father himself or one of the better-trained and more judicious boys rings the bell for rising. Immediately upon this awakening, the sacristan tolls the large bell of the church to announce the *Ave Marias*.¹ In this way, also, the people in town come to learn that the Father is already awake and out of bed.

Shortly, thereafter, the bell is rung again for meditation and its duration is measured either by a sand or a water-clock since these are the most commonly in use here and are made from coconuts as stated already in Book One.

After an hour, the bell is rung again to announce the end of prayer. Before lunch the bell is again rung to summon everyone to the examination of conscience and then for lunch and finally for the *siesta*. In the afternoon and sometime before supper, the bell announces the call for the *Litanies* which are recited by the Father and to which the companions respond. Then again for recreation, spiritual reading and examination of conscience and retiring. This is the program for a college and also for each minister even if he lives alone.

All this is so planned so that first of all community life may not be forgotten and that each minister must live out and will be

obliged to live so when re-assigned to a full community, where everything is done to the sound of a bell.

The second reason for this program is so that life is lived out methodically as is done in the midst of a community. Thirdly, in order to offer a good example to the natives who would otherwise be scandalized if they would see us departing from the custom introduced by the early missionaries. And fourthly, so as to gain the merit of obedience.

Concerning the ascetical and penitential practices, I am an eye-witness and have heard during the past many years that whenever we Father ministers come together, there is heard at day-break the sounds of flagellation which even the elderly inflict upon themselves upon rising or even at midnight. I shall not say anything about the hair-shirts² which many wear secretly. During the absence of some or after the demise of others, we have discovered some of these which were very rough and sharp.

About the vigils and fasts, we do not wish to say too much either. However, I can state that rare is the minister here who does not fast on all the Saturdays and vigils of the Virgin Mary; some of them go only on bread and water and make great efforts to keep this a secret. There are also many of them who during suppers never take meat; still others rarely take anything warm except for the *morisqueta*,³ which is our daily-bread over here.

All the above pertains to personal decorum and to the religious exercises proper to this state of life.

Let us now say something that pertains to their dealings with the faithful.

There is a rule over here which does not admit any exception, although clearly it is not obligatory since we are not living in convents; that is, not to allow any woman upstairs in the houses of these *Doctrinas*, no matter what her state, quality or condition may be. There is no objection, however, when the parents come carrying their little girls in their arms requesting "tinapayes" or some other little things. Unless it is a matter of confession or some deeply confidential matters, we do not hold converse alone with some who are already mature. Still less, do we even visit them in their homes even though they be of a noble rank. This type of reserve is demanded and expected from us; if we do not wish to depart from the inviolable practice introduced by the early Fathers who, through their great modesty, reserve

and fragrance of life, gained for themselves a reputation of saintliness over here. Whosoever would be found wanting in this matter would certainly fail in approximating the first luster that shone among them and thus become a source of unfavourable surprise or even scandal. The first ministers, truly apostolic men, excelled greatly in these matters and established for themselves a fine reputation; in order not to deviate from this line of conduct, much vigilance, circumspection and prudence are needed.

And so, among the qualities that a perfect minister must cultivate here, let this be the first; namely, most delicate modesty and prudence in relationships, communication and life-style, because upon this depends the good name of the *Doctrina*. Here, it must be remembered, we live out of necessity among people who are ill-clad and are not too sensitive about bodily exposure.

The minister must be watchful and on guard so as not to allow himself to be led away from his conviction and principles through the obstinacy of one or a group. For such individuals, often, contradict, willfully or inadvertently, the aims of the ministry and its well-being through inconsiderateness or perhaps, through a lack of intelligence. If the minister then wavers under such pressure then all crumbles and comes to naught.

Let us add, then, to such an endurance, the virtue of patience. I must declare absolutely that the virtue of patience is more necessary over here for the minister than any other of the moral virtues. The occasions for testing one's patience or even losing it over here are numerous whether it is among the small ones or the adults. Without a great deal of patience it would be easy to grow weary, angry and even throw everything over-board.

It would be a tedious process to go over the other virtues; however, we shall speak about them at greater length in the following Chapter.

In this regard, let it suffice to say and repeat what the Apostle of Japan, St. Francis Xavier often reiterated in his precious letters about the qualities with which they must be endowed if they wish to come here. That is, he insisted: on generous and well-grounded virtue, self-contempt; and that great virtue is preferable to great knowledge and not vice-versa.

And this is evident, because over here those who are more intelligent are exposed, let us not say disposed, — if their virtue

is not equal to their intelligence — to live discontentedly, believe that their talents are not well employed, and hence lose their peace of mind feeling that their talents are buried in a land which neither recognizes nor appreciates them. As a result, they live in displeasure and restlessness and not infrequently do they turn their backs upon their vocation.

CHAPTER 24

CONCLUSION OF THE SAME SUBJECT-MATTER AND A RESPONSE TO SOME OF THE CRITICISMS AGAINST THIS MINISTRY WHICH HAVE LITTLE VALUE OR FOUNDATION

(Summary only)

To bring to an end the requisites with which every apostolic minister ought to be endowed so that it may be profitable to his own life and advantageous for the souls of the natives entrusted to him, we shall reply here to some criticisms levelled by some with an attempt to obscure the glory of the Missions. Some of these critics have either lived here in these regions and were unable to adjust and left with a bad impression or, perhaps, having listened and believed easily the disgruntled in the field, belittled this glorious undertaking. Others, undoubtedly, have given themselves over to demanding talk because they were displeased with the labours and sufferings encountered here which, although not a few, are not so gigantic that they could not be overcome; in fact, others with the grace of God have weathered them all perseveringly.

I find here two groups of people who are unanimously engaged in criticizing this ministry: to the first group belong those who openly acknowledge that they lack physical health and spiritual strength to remain a part of the evangelical undertaking. If this admission is the result of their humility and recognition of their physical and spiritual soundness, then their attitude is not bad, but rather a sign of pusillanimity and a lack of confidence. And so these who have so little confidence in themselves, ought to put their trust in God and also report the matter to their Superiors.

And if the latter should send them to the missions, then let them act as the elderly ministers; then God will grant them the grace necessary to push forward in this undertaking.

The other group then, under the pretext of greater perfection or for some religious motivations wish to hide their lack of zeal for the salvation of souls. Forgetful of the motivating force that drew them from Europe — i.e. to labour among these natives and thus lead them to heaven — upon seeing the dangers and risks of the labours here, loose heart, turn their thoughts to abandoning these missions and retiring to a college. In this way, they tend to give up this ministry which became for them a burden; the burden is not so much the ministry itself, as perhaps their lack of great virtue and readiness in facing trials.

Let us now come to the matter at hand and proceed with greater clarity. We shall bring it to a summary in three points: firstly, regarding the natives; secondly, that what pertains to the ministry; thirdly, the occasions and the opportunities which the ministry offers. In this manner, then, we shall briefly reply to each of the criticisms which are aimed against it.

As regards the attitude toward the *Indios*, those who are not content with this ministry insist that these natives are somewhat rude and crude; that they make very little progress in the faith and that it is a waste of time trying to catechize them.

In response, I maintain that considering the natives to be rude and without capability is an injustice. In fact, I doubt whether any nation that has been discovered in both Indies (I set aside China and Japan and other similar ones which undoubtedly excel this one and can compare with the most civilized nations in the world) are more capable than these Bisayans. They respond extremely well to whatever they are taught and execute it equally well, both in mechanics and in the liberal arts. It is certain that they do not lack intellectual ability nor has it happened that they are unable to become excellent Christians. Today we find many of them quite competent and especially the women; either because they take their Religion more to heart or because they are, in my opinion, simply more intelligent since they are less given to manual work. It is a fact that they do grasp all they are taught and show ability in whatever they are urged to. Those of us who have lived among them arrive at the conviction

that rather than find them wanting in intellectual acumen, we find them abounding in the same, for in their litigations they are capable of splitting hairs.

Then again, it is said that most of them are rather obstinate and little inclined to application. However, this much I must grant: that this sluggishness is rather the effect of a natural weakness rather than of opposition or resistance. It is mere laxity rather than stubborn opposition to the teaching of the faith. This sluggishness which I prefer to call indolence or sloth may be overcome by the diligence of the minister who should reach out and help them in their needs.

I cannot deny that the way in which the Bisayans live provides an opening to this indolence. This is such a difficulty in looking after the good of their souls because they live so far from the towns and are scattered about and separated by three or four leagues from each other. Travel is difficult by land and dangerous by sea.

Next, to say that it is a waste of time and that nothing is achieved by working for them, is a gratuitous assertion; experience proves the opposite. Much has been accomplished and a lot more is still being done. Many of these men and women alike take their Religion seriously and even the *paganitos*¹ are slowly diminishing.

Therefore, the time has not been wasted but very well utilized; the labour has not been in vain, but very fruitful. It is not a hopeless endeavour but a promising harvest of the poor ones whom we have gathered for the kingdom of heaven.

Some even dare to opine that from among the adults only a few will be saved. This judgment, in my opinion, is erroneous and false. Or again, how can they say that it is a waste of time to have so many children die in the baptismal grace (of these, I already have thousands in heaven during my thirty years of work among these natives). Is it unprofitable to have saved so many souls of adults? It seems to me that most of those who die with the last Sacraments are most probably saved. Or even among those who die without the Last Sacraments (as long as they received them one or two months earlier). Shall we call God's mercy into doubt and think that they acted so maliciously that they would be carried off by the devil, simply because they were attached to some of the things here below? We are speaking here of people who are quite advanced in years and who are less

prone to offend God. In fact, we have come across elderly men and women who hardly present any matter for absolution even after five or six months since their last Confession.

Certainly, I do not believe that such assertions should be made. On the contrary, it seems to me that when we consider the nature of these *Indios*, the infrequent occasions to sin into which they fall, their little attachment to the things of this world, the brief period of agonizing when dying (for they hardly gasp two or three times and die quickly), God does not allow the evil spirits to tempt them during so critical a moment. As a result of their simplicity and little malice, God floods them with His infinite mercy and goodness.

Let us now approach the matter from the ministerial or pastoral view and consider its material and formal dimension. And thus, we shall notice that it is not ill-planned; on the contrary, it is planned very prudently, most appropriately and very profitably.

Some say that our constant moving about like muleteers, always carrying our few belongings on our backs, visiting the numerous towns, etc., is a very exhaustive undertaking comparable to an endless weaving and unravelling. All this becomes even much more incredible when we consider how in another ministry around Manila and among the Tagalogs,² the ministers live peacefully, free from the risks of continuous sea-travel, free from the everyday dangers of the enemy as we experience here (where some are either captured or killed by these enemies, and as we shall see in the succeeding Book). But to all this, I respond:

First, we thought that we would encounter less work here when we were still in Europe and therefore made up our minds to come here and deal with the conversion of the *Indios* (if others had the same idea as I to a greater or a lesser degree, I do not know). What we had in mind while still there, was that all we had to do was to get here, walk over the hills in quest of these natives, bring them to the faith and to the true knowledge of God; perhaps we also thought that we had to carry them on our backs; that our dwellings would necessarily have to be made into huts or makeshift structures of twigs; or maybe living in the open exposed to the inclemencies of weather; that our food would consist of herbs or roots, lacking all the flavour that food has to offer. However, we have encountered here hardly one twentieth of what we have anticipated.

Secondly, I do grant that there are dangers of enemies and that they have come very often; that rare is the minister here who has not found himself in imminent danger and that many of them have been made captives and taken to the enemy lands. Some due to ill-treatment and others more rapidly by the edge of the sword or *campilans* have lost their lives. St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, whose footsteps we must follow here, acted very differently: rejoicing in his labours and fearing that others may deprive him of that glory.

Finally, they say that there are many occasions in going astray. But are there not even greater ones awaiting those especially who turn away from their original fervor and look back?

It is already thirty-eight years³ since I have been living in these Islands. Most of these years I have spent here among the Bisayans, a short time among the Spaniards in the towns and cities where they lived. I have already written, that if over here there is one or another such an occasion, among the Spaniards there are many.

Here, the greatest attractiveness the *Indio* women have is to be just a woman. Now that some of them have become more urbane in social graces, in the manner of dress, in physical bearing and personal adornment, they do not lag behind the Spanish women at all. However, in morals these are a little more lax than the women in Spain. The Spanish women, on the other hand, are more coquettish and more lascivious here and the attraction to sex much stronger here than anywhere else in the world. This danger here is great, but even greater is their ability to keep it all a secret. Then again, the *Indio* women here are less plagued with such problems; as a rule, they shun the Spaniards, however, for some material compensation they sometimes submit. When left to themselves they usually keep away from them and even more so do they stay aloof from the ministers. They have a very special regard for those who live in the ministries, who are called to be observant and recollected religious such as the members of the Society and some others here. The natives seem to think that in these matters the ministers are made of stone and remain sinless. This impression, of course, we owe to the early missionaries who were holy men and left behind the reputation of being such, especially in matters of chastity, as I have often stated.

However, if over here the religious begins to put aside prayer and ascetical practices to which he is bound by his profession; if

he gives up the Mass, which is the Living Bread which nourishes us here and maintains our life of grace; if he cares little about modesty and recollection; if he lives not as a religious but as a layman, little wonder then, that he will find himself surrounded by traps and occasions and in this matter he begins with slight lapses and ends up in great downfalls.

I can affirm in all truth, backed-up with the experience of so many years, that no one who lives or has lived well his religious life, has ever been found or could be found worthy of any blame.

Another danger, if we dare to make it all complete, that I find here even more risky is the practice of poverty. This virtue even runs a graver risk than chastity because here we all have the opportunity to purchase whatever is necessary for our sustenance; we all gather and hold what is given by way of alms and stipends until it is time to hand it all over to our Superiors.

The occasion presented by money, if of itself less tacky, is ever present, either under the guise of need or under the pretext of charity. And I believe that the religious are closer to danger in this regard than in any other matter. Unwittingly and unconsciously one can go beyond proper limits and sin often and seriously against such a vow which is so holy and so indispensable in religious life.

CHAPTER 25

(CONCERNING THE MATTER) WHETHER THE RELIGIOUS IN THE INDIES MUST CARE (for these natives) IN WHAT PERTAINS TO THEIR SOULS OUT CHARITY OR ALSO OUT OF JUSTICE

(Summarized)

From what we have stated already at such great length in this Book concerning the various and different undertakings with which the evangelical ministers are busied over here (the same must be throughout the entire Indies) it may be rightly concluded just how much attention and care the ministers should exert while occupied in cultivating this vineyard and in tilling this extensive field for the Lord.

What remains to be said now is whether this undertaking so necessary and binding, is one of charity as so many say and main-

tain including the scholars who are concerned about these missions which are entrusted to the religious who live here, or is it also an obligation stemming from justice. Are we all evangelical ministers, religious and secular, equally bound to care for this flock of the Lord, to instruct it with a wholesome and necessary doctrine for salvation, to administer the Holy Sacraments whether urgent or not, and all the other duties that a watchful and a solicitous shepherd of souls is bound to do in conscience? And still more clearly: whether he who does not attend to this ministry, as he should, does he sin against justice? For such a ministry, as we have stated, depends entirely upon the solicitude, care and diligence of its ministers.

The basis (if there is any) of those who contend that this obligation is one of charity is found in Canon Law where in several places it decrees that Religious, in harmony with their state, must not be engaged in the care of souls. For this seems to be an external activity which exposes one in dealing with all sorts of people especially women; this latter factor brings about some dangers of excessive exposure in communicating with them. Also this type of activity brings about many distractions and detracts from one's preoccupation with God and being one with God.

And even though Canon Law seems to speak about this, it specifically has reference to monks, since the word "monachus" is used so frequently, it must be understood in that context primarily. According to not a few authors this refers to the monks and monastic orders which were originally founded for contemplation; however, even there, in several cases they are exempted from this obligation to pure contemplation. And the practice, as we see in several parts of Spain and still more in France today, shows that they are engaged in this ministry. This can be seen among the Benedictine Monks of Montserrat and in other parts; also among the monks of Repoll, although these are not Benedictines; among the Cistercians of Poblet and Santes and many others who today care for their own curacies. Even in Madrid itself and in other parts of Both Castiles there are monks who in their own right or by custom are pastors of souls or have the same duties as those who are truly such.

Now, if Canon Law makes an exception concerning the monks, much more so should this application be made to the mendicant

religious who, by a special statute, dedicate themselves to the service and instruction of their fellow beings and aid the Bishops to whom this task belongs more immediately. These, with the help of so many and so holy religious have fulfilled, still fulfill and will fulfill this obligation which binds them so strictly.

If Bishops and Heads of the Universal Church, even of these Dioceses here in the Indies, were mostly either monks of old or modern religious, we may rightly conclude, then, that it is not alien to this state but very much in harmony with it as past experience teaches.

And if we were to number the lands, kingdoms, provinces which are already converted to the Faith from the beginnings to this very day, we shall learn that nine out of every ten have been converted by the religious or the monks. This, in turn, is even more true about the Indies of which we are speaking; for the conversions here were either carried out or promoted by the Religious of the Mendicant Orders. The Secular Clergy has not brought this about anywhere here, as far as I know.

In view of all this, we may tell the secular priests everywhere in the Indies, although Canon Law states that this conversion pertains primarily to them, what Christ said: "alii laboraverunt et vos in labores eorum introistis."¹

The Lord Doctor Solórzano, in his *Política Indiana* treats this matter in several places and particularly in Book Four. Although he knows, admits and acknowledges that all these conversions are the work of the Religious and not of the Secular Clergy, he seems to be of the opinion further that these ministries must be turned over to the Secular priests. For they founded these at the cost of many members who shed their blood in this undertaking and many others who died under the weight of so many dangers, labours, exhaustion and loss of health. Yet the Secular Clergy desires to obtain them most eagerly and wishes to partake of the fruits, but not of its labours.

Nonetheless, be as it may, whether these ministries are turned over to them or not (for my part I would willingly give them over to them, if I were certain that six secular priests would do what a single religious accomplishes here alone). Yet, it is true, and we are witnessing it in these Islands, that one secular priest is taking charge of one ministry so extensive that even

four or six religious would not be able to administer such a large area. However, what they accomplish is what the proverb states: "Abarcan mucho y aprietan poco."²

So, therefore, let us come to the point: I say that the said Doctor Solórzano holds as true that the religious who in the ministries of the Indies take charge of the souls and are their teachers and spiritual Fathers, they then are their pastors. As a result, then, they must be such not only out of charity, as some say, but also out of justice; attending to them in everything and for everything. For if they do otherwise, they do not fulfill their duties in conscience, etc.

He presupposes rather than proves this: unless it may be taken as a proof, as he alleges from the Bulls of five or six Popes, according to whom the Religious over here are considered as true parish priests and pastors of the souls of these poor *Indios*. And His Holiness, as Universal Shepherd and Vicar of Christ, gives faculties to all the Religious and dispenses from any impediment...³

(The remaining folios are missing in the manuscript)

Footnotes

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 20

¹ Should read, *Cayang*. This is a roof or a covering made of *nipa* thatch or shingles or of something equivalent and placed over light vessels as protection against the sun or rain. Mateo Sánchez, *Vocabulario de la lengua bisaya* (Manila: Don Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1711), fol. 117.

² In Spanish, *arras*. Arrhae is Latin. Thirteen pieces of money, which the bridegroom gives to the bride, as a pledge, in the rite of Philippine Catholic marriage

³ Nuptial benedictions.

⁴ These are small Spanish brass coins, each valued at two maravedies. A maravedi, in turn, is an old Spanish coin of the smallest value; worth about one-sixth of a cent or one-third of a farthing.

⁵ Perhaps, any donation, alms or gifts derived from some sacred function, as is obvious from the context.

⁶ Undoubtedly, Alcina has reference to a very wonderful work by Don Fray Diego Aduarte, O.P., *Historia de la Provincia del sancto Rosario de*

la orden de predicadores en Philippinas, Japon, y China (Manila: Colegio de Sancto Thomas, 1640), pp. 8sn. + 437.

In a short span of fifty three years, this work was again reprinted in Zaragoza, in the year 1693 and expanded into a second volume by P. Santa Cruz. A third volume was published in Manila and prepared by Salazar in 1742; while a fourth volume was prepared by Collantes and published also in Manila in the year 1783. Finally, this ancient chronicle was revised and again augmented by Ferrando and Fonseca into six volumes in Madrid during the years 1870-1872. Cf. W. E. Retana, *Aparato bibliográfico de la historia general de Filipinas* (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, 1906 and reprinted on off-set by International Graphic Service, Quezon City, 1964) Vol. 111-112, No. 106.

⁷ "I have kept the faith; all there is to come now is the crown of righteousness reserved for me, which the Lord, the righteous judge, will give to me on that Day; and not only to me but to all those who have longed for his Appearing." (II Timothy, 4:8).

⁸ Herein and in the next few pages Alzina outlines and describes the duties, responsibilities and functions of this all-important lay-minister in olden times. In fact, this is the finest and most thorough description of this personage to whom so many references are made in the histories and chronicles of the past

⁹ A small steel helm. A tip, cap, or a ferule socket.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 21

¹ The ancient capital of the entire island and today the capital of Western Samar only, situated on the shores of Maqueda Bay. The Jesuits, the first evangelizers, arrived to Samar 385 years ago or on October 15, 1596. They quickly established two central *cabeceras*: one in Tinago, now known as Dapdap, and another in Catubig. Since Tinago was burned by the Mindanao plunderers about the year 1620, the cabecera was transferred to Catbalogan.

The beautiful stone church of the Jesuits was destroyed by fire in 1760 or shortly before their departure from Samar and Leyte. The first Franciscan assigned to the parish of St. Bartholomew in Catbalogan was Father José Fayó who inherited nothing but *camarin* of *nipa* for a church, in the year 1768. The following year, the Franciscans established an infirmary for the people and assigned the lay-brother Fray José de Jesús María, as its infirmarian.

In the year 1814, Father Félix Carrión restored a large portion of the burnt-out church while Father Martín de Yepes, in 1844, rebuilt the altars, the large columns and did much interior decorating of the church. Fray Félix de Huerta, *Estado...* (Binondo: Imprenta de M. Sánchez y Cía, 1865), pp. 290-291. Also see, P. Valentín Marín y Morales, *Ensayo de una síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las Corporaciones religiosas de Filipinas*, (Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1901), Vol. II, p. 474.

² A tuber, a root-crop or a sweet-potato which comes in different varieties: yellow, orange, white or purple. Both the tuber and the leaves may be eaten as food.

³ An island situated off the NW coast of Samar and at the mouth of San Bernardino Strait. In ancient times, the Island was also known by the name of Abac which was actually the name of the municipality. The people on this island, even to this very day, speak a language completely distinct from Bisaya of Samar; they also speak and understand the latter, however.

In fact, during the fourth quarter of the eighteenth century the people on Capul Island spoke three distinct language: the Inagta, Inabaknun and the Samar-Leyte Bisayan. For a very interesting and informative treatment of this subject, see Lorenzo Hervás y Panduro, "Catálogo de las lenguas de las Naciones Conocidas," Vol. II (Madrid: Imprenta del Real Arbitrio de Beneficiencia, 1800-1805), pp. 26ff in W. E. Retana *Aparato bibliográfico de la general de Filipinas*, Vol. I. (Madrid: Imprenta de la Sucesora de M. Minuesa de los Ríos, offset by Pedro B. Ayuda y Compañía, Manila, 1964), pp. 444ff. No. 442.

Also, see "The Islet of Capul" Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M., *Leyte-Samar Studies*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, 1980, pp. 49-70.

⁴ Or Borneo. An island in the Malayan Archipelago SW of the Philippines. Today the island is divided into two states: Borneo and Sabah (formerly North Borneo and a British Colony).

⁵ Not in the strict sense of the word, but most probably just schools for boys.

⁶ Apparently a wood of some trees that had some medicinal properties and perhaps brought over originally from China.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 22

¹ See Chapter 17 of this same Part Two, Book 2 published in the previous issue of the *Philippiniana Sacra*, Number 47, Volume XVI.

² For detailed biographical data about Alzina cf. "Ignacio Francisco Alzina: The Great Samar-Leyte Bisayan Missionary of the 17th Century," Cantius J. Kobak, O.F.M., *Philippiniana Sacra*, Vol. XIII, Number 39, September-December, 1978, pp. 400-429. Since new valuable manuscript data has surfaced, it would be well to publish it here for the first time.

"I conclude by giving Your Reverence some brief news and an account of what I, although frail and destined for small things, have endured here [and how I have] laboured. Although I am not one of those who has worked more [than others], I am not [one who has worked] the least either. I am content with what they are saying about me in general, because from that one could deduce how much more there is to do, even though that is rather conservative.

"In the year [16]31 I left Zaragoza for these Islands on the Feast of the Apparition of Saint Michael the Archangel. We left that City, Father Bonafé and I, and here we have different occupations. Father Bonafé is always in Manila with the Tagalogs; he is greatly occupied in that ministry. Without envying him or even desiring to do so... his work there is just to lecture and preach. I say that more could have been accomplished in Spain and in our Province, but since someone has to do it here, God provides that someone adapts himself to the place contentedly, as the Apostle said: 'I know all about you: how hard you work and how much you put up with. I know you cannot stand wicked men, and how you proved they were liars' (Rev. 2:2).

"We arrived in Manila on the 26th of May of the following year 1632. I stayed in the City for two and a half years where I completed my studies until my ordination. About September 1634 I came to these Bisayan missions, where I have lived always till the year 1660, except for less than two years stay in Manila where I worked among the Spaniards. I was there because of my illness, but since I derived little benefit in being there among

them, I returned to these missions, where I live with a kind of health which I will later describe and I have accomplished what little I could, although I always admit that I am a useless servant.

"I have traveled [a lot]; computing my travels, without counting that from Castile to here, which is about six thousand leagues. I move on without let up, for that is the kind of life we have here. In other travels, I covered more than six thousand leagues. And if it is true that the earth has only six thousand leagues, then I could have gone around it twice or even more

"These sea-voyages are continuous and it is very rare in a month for a missionary here not to go voyaging far or near — depending upon the distance of the towns he visits. Oftentimes, I find myself in danger of drowning: 'three times I was shipwrecked,' and twice, only God could have saved me. Not knowing how to swim, I never let go the ship; between two waters I stayed until the *Indios* came to my rescue. During these two occasions everything got wet, clothes and even papers, etc.; nor was I able to change my clothing for it had to dry out on me. Many times I was soaked, pounded by the sea-water which then was not so dangerous.

"Twice, I miraculously escaped from the hands of enemies, which as I have stated earlier, the dangers here are ordinary occurrences. On these two occasions, contrary to what I usually did, I tarried a bit, and the enemy, who was going to the same place at the same time as I, did not follow me. It was Divine Providence that inspired me to delay the trip. Showers, storms, tumbling-down houses and churches trapped me several times; also lack of food of this earth[sic]. The lack of bread in these missions is never-ending, we even lack biscuits very often and other food-stuffs from Europe — here everything is different. All of these are reasons for my stomach to be upset easily, thus making it difficult to return to good health.

"There is no wine here, but only some kind of a toddy produced from the tips of palms. The drink is not sanitary and he who imbibes it to excess becomes tipsy and it is not good for one's health. To drink it, some temper it with hard water. For many years I did not taste it or even the chocolate, but in the course of time, I began to spend a little for wine and take chocolate when necessity forced me. And if I do this, it is in the absence of other things; this is due to the weakness of my stomach. Four times I was very ill with it and twice I did not know how to escape from it.

"In addition to this, since 1637, I suffered from pains in my sides; I suffered from stones which I developed in an unsanitary town and it keeps bothering me until even today. The pain is not constant at times, yet hardly nineteen days pass without alarming me. The first stone that was expelled from me was almost the size of an olive seed; many days later, I expelled smaller ones which were numerous. In spite of this, thank God, I have not failed to go and come to the towns I was assigned, although sailing to far away places, I certainly feel side-pains and the kidney troubles me too, etc.

"The people I have baptized in these missions reach more than ten thousand souls with a few adults; I have stayed here in these islands till now, all these years — that is, I have lived here most of my life. Some of these baptized were wounded men from the mountains; the others were already Christians who returned to the hills and it was these that I tried most to bring back to reduction and have them return to the towns. Some of those whom I baptized have lived in the mountains for ten years more or less and there are even those who stayed there for some thirty years.

"The annual confessions for which we prepare and rearrange the *padron* continually, reached about 290,000 — out of which 19,000 are between twenty and thirty years in age. There are a few who have never gone to confession

in all their life; this is not counting the sick and others who make it during the in-between years. What should I say about other people in some other towns? At one time, on a Christmas Eve, I alone distributed Communion to some 900 people.

"The deceased I have interred reached 7,000 more or less; majority of whom were children, who for certain are now in heaven.

"I do not keep an account of the sermons and homilies in Bisayan, which I deliver weekly at least three or four times or even more frequently. In every town-visit I make, everything has to be started anew as far as the instructions are concerned.

"I have written in this language several books: the very first one I had finished is a *Manual of a Good Christian* with its daily exercises; *The Rules of the Congregation* and how they must be put into practice; *The Way to Pray Orally*, pointing out the difference from the mysteries of the Rosary; *The Crown of the Blessed Virgin* and the *Wounds of Our Lord Jesus Christ*; *A Guide to a Good Confession and Communion*; *A Book of Instructions on Mental Prayer with Daily Meditations*, for the more advanced; *A Treatise on the Sacraments and their Effects*, etc.; another one about what a *Jubilee* is; *A Treatise on Plenary Indulgence*, and other things of the same nature. All the above-mentioned are contained in one volume which will number about two hundred folios.

"A larger volume entitled *Holy Week: Deeds, Sayings and Mysteries of Christ Crucified*, contains twenty-four discourses concerning all the mysteries from Palm Sunday to Holy Saturday. This volume is in *cuarto* like the first one of Father Alonso Rodríguez's in size.

"There are other volumes in folios which together can make up a larger one than the ancient *Vocabulario* and which contains a Spanish vocabulary with its corresponding Bisayan. The other two [volumes] constitute a *Thesaurus of the Bisayan Language* with about 20,000 words, together with its grammatical variations, derivatives, and every conceivable structure of this language which is grand and copious.

"In verse, I also have the *Passion*, the *Life of Our Father* [i.e. St. Ignatius of Loyola]; much about the Virgin [Mary] and other Saints and two comedies, etc. All these are ready for printing since not one of these volumes is printed as yet; however, I already have the permit for it all. Just as I have written about it to Your Reverence and a fact which I would not like mentioned.

"I [also] have a draft of sermons for the Paschal season and for all the major feasts of the year. Some have requested that I write sermons for all Sundays [of the year]. If only health and time would permit! I will arrange it, God willing, so as to help the new-comers to these missions. Until now, there are no printed materials in this language other than the Belarmine *Doctrina* and a *Confessiona!* and a small *Arte*, which I ordered printed twice with some corrections of the first [edition]. This is a small work and has no author, but it is not mine.

"From what has been stated above, Your Reverence can deduce what we do here, and how one makes use of his time. Some say that in this ministry there is nothing to do, but I always lack time to do so many things that this ministry offers. If one desires to work [then good]; if one just wants to leave matters as they are and he is alone in the ministry, nobody will say to him, 'Why are you standing here all day, doing nothing?' And this is the first slip of those who lack religious zeal and devotion to the ministry..." ARSI (Archivum romanum societatis Jesu), "P. Ignatius Alzina ad P. Joannem Marin, refert Statum Missionis de los Pintados, Junio 24, 1660," *Phil.* 12, folios 1-12Ms. A major portion of this document has been already

published in the *Philippiniana Sacra* under the same title, Vol. XIII, Number 39, September-December, 1978, pp. 498-553.

³ Prior to the presentation of some pertinent historical data concerning the pueblo of Carigara, it would be well to make the observation that the Jesuits were not the first evangelizers of the Island of Leyte as is often maintained with absolute certainty in the still unpublished manuscripts and in the already printed material.

Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, in his excellent work entitled, *Reseña de la Provincia de Leyte*, published in 1914, asserts that the first to evangelize the island were the Augustinians. He cites a decision of the Augustinian Definitorium which named Father Alonso Velázquez as Prior of the Convento of Leyte and how a companion, Father Alonso Jiménez, was sent with him at the outset. Quoting from another unedited work entitled, *Osario Venerable*, he writes: "The celebrated Father Alonso Velázquez, the first missionary to these islands, was the founder of this Mission and that Father Chirino (in his *Historia*...) was in error in attributing these first and ancient missions to the Company of Jesus. For it was administered by the Augustinians from 1580 (prior to the arrival of the Jesuits to the Archipelago) to 1595, as found in the manuscripts in our Definitorial *Acta*..." The truth is, continues Cuerva, that until 1595 there was no designated missionary from the Company of Jesus in the Islands of Capul, Leyte, Bohol, Ibabao (Samar) and other provinces of the Bisayan Islands or even a faculty to erect a college in Sugbu. Neither were they able to realize this, for the Society then greatly lacked personnel. They received their first reinforcements to the Philippines only on June 11, 1595 when six Jesuits arrived to Cavite and on the following month sailed for Leyte. Cf. Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *Reseña de la Provincia de Leyte: Estudio Histórico Bio-Bibliográfico*, (Manila: Imprenta Cultura Filipina, 1914), pp. 127-128.

Carigara is one of the towns of Leyte situated on the northern portion of the Island and on the Southern shore of a beautiful Bay of the same name, facing the Island of Biliran, known in antiquity as Panamaw Island.

When the Jesuits arrived to Leyte on July 16, 1595, Carigara was the very first town where they settled and initiated their work of evangelization. It was the celebrated Father Chirino who arrived there together with Fathers Juan del Campo, Cosme de Flores and a lay brother, Gaspar Garay. It was the Feast of the Exultation of the Holy Cross when they landed near the town of Carigara; on the beach the priests offered Mass and afterwards they erected a cross to mark the day and place of their landing and proceeded on foot to the pueblo of Carigara. Cf. Francisco Colín, *Labor evangélica*, Pablo Pastells, ed. (Barcelona: Henrich, 1900-1902), Tomo II, Lib. IX, Cap. IX, pp. 123, footnote (1). The first three other towns placed under the jurisdiction of Carigara were: Leyte, Barugo and Samputan; each one of them were visited monthly. (*Ibid.*, p. 123).

In the year 1596 eighteen Jesuits were sent from Mexico to the Philippines; they disembarked in Sorsogon and made their way overland to Manila. Some arrived there on June 14, while others on August 1, 1596. In October of the same year, mission stations were opened in Tinago and Catubig, Samar. Meanwhile, the Carigara and Dulag mission stations received three new ones; that is, three new ones were added: Palo, Ormoc and Alangalang. New ministers were assigned to Carigara in the persons of Father Francisco de Encinas and Brother Alonso del Barco; to Dulag, Father Alonso de Humanes and Brother Dennis Marie; to Palo, Fathers Cristóbal Jiménez and Miguel Gómez; to Ormoc, Fathers Alonso Rodríguez and Leonardo Scelsi; to Alang-Alang, Father Cosme de Flores and Brother Pedro Díaz. Cf. Horacio de la Costa, *The Jesuits in the Philippines 1581-1768*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), pp. 146 and 154.

In the year 1600, Carigara, Alang-Alang and Ormoc were reduced to one residence with Alang-Alang as the mission station, with a community

of four priests and four brothers under the rector-ship of Father Mateo Sánchez. Also Dulag and Palo were merged into one residence at Dulag, with a community of three priests and three brothers under the superior-ship of Father Francisco de Otazo. (*Ibid.*, p. 183).

Shortly upon his arrival to Carigara, Father Francisco de Encinas penned the following letter to the Vice-Provincial.

"I am offering this little narrative as a gift to Your Reverence, and in summary form some of the new things that have transpired here and how the Lord has turned into flowers and fruits what previously was only thorns and useless weeds. Every single day for me over here seems to be so admirable and such a gift as if of a thousand graces from the Lord, that there is no need for relying upon miracles. This residence of Carigara has three *pueblo visitas*: Leyte, Barugo and Samputan; they are so near each other that we are able to visit them every month... During the days that we remain in each of them, we preach, teach the *Doctrina cristiana* in the mornings. Both participate, those who are already Christians and those who wish to become such. In the afternoons we leave the pueblo and exhort all the people in the barrios about the Faith and encourage the non-Christians to study the *doctrina* by singing it in their homes every night. Fiestas are celebrated with due solemnity during which we permit them to sing in the churches some of the *villancicos* pertaining to sacred matters, in their own language and according to their ancient tunes. Christmas, Holy Week, Easter and *Corpus Christi* are celebrated in Carigara where all the others come and join in the processions, the services. The capacity and the good will of these people in responding to the sacred ministries is admirable..." (Colín, *op. cit.*, pp. 124-125).

An interesting account how the *Sanguiles* pirates, predators and bitter enemies of the Samar-Leyte people arrived to Carigara in the year 1608 and brought the flourishing Christian community to naught, see "Piratical Raids and Native Uprisings in the 17th Century Samar and Leyte — I" Cantius J. Kobak and Pablo Fernández in *Philippiniana Sacra*, Volume XIV, Number 41, May-August, 1979, pp. 359 ff.

It seems therefore that the Augustinians were in Carigara, Leyte from 1580 to 1595; the Jesuits from 1595 to 1768 when they were expelled from all Spanish domains. Thereupon, the Augustinians were again given spiritual jurisdiction over the Island Leyte in 1768 and carried on until the year 1843. Shortly upon assuming the ministry in Carigara, Father Agustín María de Castro, O.S.A. wrote: "The pillars of the church [in Carigara] are of molave, which is a great marvel of the Philippines. The church is large and beautiful, adorned with much silver-work, exquisite furnishings and possesses many relics, among which is found one of the True Cross. The convento is of stone, very large and has "baluartes" well fortified with canons, muskets and the necessary powder. It has a *visita*, about three hours distance by river, named Hileyte, which was very beautiful before it was destroyed by the Muslims." (Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301).

Cuerva also observes that the ancient and original *pueblo* was first situated in *sitio* Binungtu-an, south of the present town and about one kilometer away. In 1914, the author maintained that partial remains of the ancient ruins were still visible. (*Ibid.*)

Finally, in the year 1843, the Augustinians left the Island of Leyte and Carigara and withdrew their personnel. The Franciscans were assigned to continue the task of ministering to the needs of the people and continued until the turn of the century. It seems that during the mid-nineteenth century, the Franciscans were slowly turning over the larger parishes to the Filipino Secular Clergy, retaining the more rugged island of Samar for their ministry.

⁴ It is rather difficult to ascertain the precise meaning of this Waray Bisayan term. An ancient Waray-Spanish Dictionary defines the term IMALAY as one who lives alone, without a wife, family or children; one dwelling apart from everyone else and therefore a recluse, hermit. Cf. Mateo Sánchez, *Vocabulario de la Lengua Bisaya* (Samar y Leyte) (Manila Don Gaspar Aquino de Belén, 1711), fol. 270. Also the term HALAY, means a vagabond. A more recent Waray-Spanish dictionary also defines the terms in the same manner.

⁵ A town on the Island Leyte, situated on the SE shore of Carigara Bay and about twenty miles W. by N. of Tacloban. The first work of evangelization is again attributed to the Augustinians. "The town was founded by the Augustinian, Father Alonso Velázquez in 1580, who also constructed a church and several schools." Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

When the Philippines was systematically divided among the various orders then engaged in the work of evangelizing, Leyte was assigned to the Society of Jesus and its first missionaries arrived there and to Barugo on July 16, 1595. In the year 1768, the Augustinians assumed the spiritual jurisdiction upon the departure of the Jesuits. In the year 1843, the Franciscans were invited to carry on the ministry on the Island of Leyte and Barugo.

The early history of Barugo is very scanty; we do know, however, that in the year 1601 there were some 185 individuals baptized in Barugo. See Colín-Pastells, *op. cit.*, Tom. II, Lib. III, Cap. XXIX, p. 386.

The first Franciscan parish priest of Barugo was Timoteo Calderón who took possession of the parish on December 6, 1844. When he took over the 'cura animarum' the church, under the patronage of San José, was only a 'camarin' of bamboo and nipa; the same with the convento. In the year 1873, Father Pedro Acuáez began the construction of the Church in rubble-work masonry or 'mampostería' and completed it in the year 1876. The convento was built earlier and in the year 1864 of stone by Father Bernardino Rebolledo and completed in several years. Father Arsenio Figueroa erected a pantheon encircled by rubble-work of masonry, together with a chapel in the year 1890. He also erected two schools and a municipal building or a tribunal. Cf. Valentín Marín y Morales, *Ensayo de una Síntesis de los trabajos realizados por las Corporaciones Religiosas Españolas de Filipinas* (Manila: Imprenta de Santo Tomás, 1901), p. 465. See also Manuel Artigas y Cuerva, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-249 for the origin of the name Balugo and other very interesting details about the town and its barrios.

⁶ This simple phrase needs a bit of explanation since it carries some deeper ancient cultural implications. In another portion of his *Historia...* Alzina makes this pertinent observation: "The most difficult pain they are caused to sustain is when someone would approach them and tear off their wig or cut their hair. In like manner, the greatest manifestation of grief for them is to cut off a lock of their hair. It is also a sign of mourning the death of their parents, husband especially when they had deep affection for them. Another reason for this kind of gesture is as a form of religious observance and of taking leave of the world." Cf. Part I, Book 1, Chapter 2, Ms

Or again, "During the time that the deceased, male or female, was on the *tarima* with all the adornments especially if it were a husband or a wife, the one who survived cut of one's hair. This was particularly true of the women and it was a sign of greatest affection for their deceased husband. This hair they either placed in the casket of their husbands or they kept it. Then, from time to time they took it out, and holding it in their hands, they wept..." Cf. Part I, Book 3, Chapter 15, Ms.

Still another reference is found about this matter in a summary of an ancient Bisayan epic. "...he added that unless she prepared the *buyos* for

him — something that cost him so much and tired him out so greatly — he would go personally and snatch a lock of her hair. We have already said that the Bisayan women wore false hair which they called *bangloy* or *pinanta* or *tagabohoc*, in various regions. The women took great pride in this and in building up a great mass of it and shaping it into a rose below the back-part of the head. Among these women it is regarded as a great breach of etiquette and a serious dishonor to take this hair or even more to dishevel it. He mentioned that he would make a *symbol* for his ship (we have already mentioned previously that this is a great feathered ornament which they place in the prow of their boats as a symbol of victory) and that this would become one of his greatest achievements..." See Part I, Book 4, Chapter 16.

¹ This was called *Polo* or a system of compulsory draft labour, whether shipbuilding or public works. This practice of personal service consisted of forty days in the year

Phelan writes, "The relative economic equilibrium attained after the mid-1580's was shattered by the impact of the Hispano-Dutch war, which produced a severe strain on the Philippine economy between 1606-1648. The defense of the Philippines could not have succeeded if the government of Manila had not ruthlessly exploited the material and human resources of the islands. Since the conflict was essentially a naval war, the hardest burdens placed on Filipino labour were as woodcutters, shipbuilders, crewmen, and munitions makers. Draft labor was recruited through a system known as the *polo*. Although draft labour existed in the Philippines in some form as early as 1580, its character changed radically after the coming of the Dutch war. The Philippine polo was modeled after the Mexican *repartimiento*. All men in the community with the exception of chieftains and their eldest sons were obligated to serve periodically in the labor pool, but richer Filipinos could purchase exemption by buying a substitute for six or seven pesos. *Polo* laborers seldom received even their token wages. The treasury soon fell into arrears. What kept *polo* workers alive was a monthly stipend of four pesos worth of rice, provided by the village treasuries. The villages in turn levied a small annual assessment on their inhabitants for this purpose.

"The government did attempt to set up some safeguards to protect the interests of *polo* labor. Filipinos could not be drafted for private enterprises or for public works of a nonmilitary sort. Draft labor was not to be used when voluntary Chinese labor was available. Nor were Filipinos to be transported long distances or to different climates. Shipbuilding schedules were to be arranged so that labor drafts would not be necessary during the planting and the harvesting seasons. These humanitarian intentions of the Crown proved a dead letter in the face of the relentless exigencies created by war conditions. Working conditions for *polo* labor were usually appalling." Cf. *The Hispanization of the Philippines* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1959), p. 99.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 23

¹ That is, a call to pray the *Angelus*.

² In Spanish called the *cilicio* or a hair-cloth, very rough and prickly. It is a hair covering for the body, worn as penance. Or girdle of bristles or netted wire, with points, worn in mortification of the flesh.

³ Rice, boiled and without salt; the ordinary food of the natives and even of the missionaries.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 24

¹ The meaning is 'to offer sacrifices to the gods.' The word ANITO alone means 'to offer'. See Alzina's *Historia* Part I, Book 3, Chapter 14 which treats these 'paganitos' in great detail and makes very interesting reading

² Cf. *Philippiniana Sacra*, Volume XIII, Number 39, September-December, 1978, "P. Ignatius Alzina ad P. Joannem Marin refert statum missionis de los Pintados, Junio 24, 1660," pp. 498-553.

³ It is clear here that in the year 1670, Alzina is still in the Bisayas and already re-writing the final drafts of his *Historia*. It is somewhat difficult to ascertain what month of this year he left for Manila. We do know, however, that by July 17th he is in Manila assigned to the San Miguel Parish, for the Baptismal Register shows his signature in the entries.

NOTES FOR CHAPTER 25

¹ "Others have worked for it; and you have come into the rewards of their troubles." John 4:38, in the Jerusalem Bible.

² "They embrace much but hold fast to little."

³ The remaining folios are missing in the Ms.